

Mrs Gandhi loses her seat in Congress disaster

Mrs Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, was defeated by 55,000 votes in her Uttar Pradesh constituency as election results were counted early today, and her Congress Party suffered serious losses, particularly in the north. The opposition won all the Delhi seats. Mrs Gandhi's son, Sanjay, failed in his first attempt to gain election to Parliament and several ministers lost their parliamentary seats.

Sanjay is also defeated

Sanjay Gandhi, the Prime Minister's son, suffered a stunning defeat in his Uttar Pradesh constituency as election results were counted early today, and his Congress Party suffered serious losses, particularly in the north. The opposition won all the Delhi seats. Mrs Gandhi's son, Sanjay, failed in his first attempt to gain election to Parliament and several ministers lost their parliamentary seats.



Face of victory: Mr Jagjivan Ram, former Cabinet colleague of Mrs Gandhi who is now an opposition leader, photographed as results were coming in last night.

Mr Sanjay Gandhi, whose emergence as a close adviser to his mother had become an important campaign issue, was defeated by 76,000 votes in his Uttar Pradesh constituency. Early today the Janata Party called on the Prime Minister to resign. Mr D. K. Borooah, the Congress Party chairman, who himself appears to be winning in his Assam constituency, went to the Prime Minister's residence with one of the party's senior secretaries. Mr Borooah arrived in Delhi just before midnight. With results declared for 200 seats in 542-member Parliament, the Janata Party, which won the election on a "democracy versus dictatorship" platform, had captured 100 seats against 75 for the Congress Party. The breakaway Congress Party for Democracy had one seat. The remainder went to independent, communist and regional groups. Several of Mrs Gandhi's ministers were defeated. The defeat of Mr Bansi Lal, the defence minister, who lost by 30,000 votes, in Haryana, showed the strength of feeling in northern India against the emergency which Mrs Gandhi imposed in June 1975. Mr Lal was one of her chief advisers on the emergency and linked in friendship with Mr Indira Gandhi, who had counselled her mother not to speed the emergency. Thousands of delighted opposition supporters took to the streets of Delhi last night, celebrating the Janata Party's victory. The Janata Party had swept all rural constituencies in the city. Congress won them all in 71 elections. As cars carrying the green and orange Janata flag went through the streets, people in the crowd kept on asking what had happened to Mrs Gandhi's son. Dr S. D. Sharma, the Minister

Economists call for £3,000m tax reliefs

A call to the Chancellor to refuel the economy with tax cuts of some £3,000m comes today from leading economists in Cambridge. In its latest Review, the Cambridge Economic Policy Group says the Budget ought to contain net tax cuts of some £2,000m "over and above" £1,000m of extra tax allowances necessary to take account of inflation. The authors of the Review, who include Mr Wynne Godley, Director of Cambridge University's Department of Applied Economics, and Mr Francis Cripps, economic adviser to Mr Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for Energy, give warning that import controls will have to be introduced in coming years if the United Kingdom is to have any chance of bringing down unemployment without an unacceptable depreciation of the pound. They say that if what they call "conventional policies" are pursued, unemployment could rise steadily to about two million by 1985. In order to bring it down, they argue, the economy will have to grow at around 5 per cent a year for the next 10 years. The Review sets its face firmly against the idea that a rise in unemployment is inevitable in a thorough-going attack on monetarist views of inflation. The authors claim there is no evidence that inflation was caused by excessive growth in the money supply, or that the rapid growth in money supply in 1972 to 1974 was caused by excessive public sector deficit. They believe that deficits have not been too large in the recent past, considering the depth of recession, and are particularly critical of critics who argue for bigger cuts in government spending than were carried out. Looking forward for the next five or 10 years, the authors give warning that British industry has been so weakened by years of stagnation and low interest rates that it will take years of this decade supply constraints would begin to appear if there were movement towards anything like full employment. These would result in such an increase in imports that the balance of payments would be endangered even with the beneficial effects of North Sea oil. The only way to get fast growth and a return to full employment was by introducing import controls. These would have limited impact in the next few years, but would become progressively more valuable as time went by. They would need to be extended to a growing proportion of all imports to be effective.

Budget preview, page 4
Tax cuts advocated, page 14

Government considers deals with Liberals and Unionists as means to avoid election

The royal tour of Australia will not be cut short if an election is called in Britain, Mr Ronald Allison, the Queen's press secretary, said yesterday (Reuters reports). A sombre and fatalistic mood was settling over Labour Cabinet ministers and backbenchers last night as Mr Callaghan stayed at Chequers trying to work out whether to deal with either the Liberals or the Ulster Unionists could save the Government on Wednesday's confidence motion. Mr Steel, the Liberal leader, yesterday demanded "an open and public agreement" as the price of support in the House. Although Liberals hope to see Labour backbenchers put pressure on the Government to avoid a general election, the feeling among some ministers is that the Liberals may have over-played their hand. Labour left-wingers were saying that a specific agreement to govern on the Liberals' terms is intolerable. A weekend of secret manoeuvring went on among all parties for what Cabinet ministers now admit was a grievous error of parliamentary tactics last week in avoiding a vote on public expenditure. The Liberals, the Ulstermen, and not least the Conservatives, have ended up facing a "moment of truth", in Mr Callaghan's phrase, almost by accident. Last week's vote has provoked the opposition parties into demonstrating that they are prepared to challenge the Government. Labour MPs were saying bitterly over the weekend that a general election is now entirely probable. Mr Rees, the Home Secretary, at the Commons during the past 24 hours and "our view is that we shall vote against the Government". But further talks are to take place behind the scenes at Westminster today and tomorrow. Mr Steel has based the disposal of the Liberal Party's vote on the national interest when he appeared on the Independent Television programme *Weekend World* yesterday. What, in the Government's present programme, Peter Jay asked, did not satisfy that interest? Mr Steel replied that until now the Government had been operating on the basis of the Labour manifesto of 1974, not the basis of the national interest. They could do that quite justifiably only on the basis of a Commons majority, which clearly they did not now have. To ensure Liberal support on Wednesday night, the Government "would have to accept that they are not the party that has control over the House of Commons and begin with the negative proposition that there would be no further expansion of socialism; we cannot go on extending confidence to a government unless there is agreement between us". What remained of Labour manifesto policies of 1974 that Liberals found offensive? Mr Steel answered that there was still the Queen's Speech commitment to a Bill on direct labour (already delayed by the Government); and he believed

Curb on socialism among Mr Steel's terms

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Tories criticize Annan plan for new broadcasting authority

The main proposal of the Annan report on the future of broadcasting, that the hegemony of the BBC and IBA be broken by the setting up of an Open Broadcasting Authority to run a fourth television channel, was criticized yesterday by the Conservative Party's media committee. It called the report "a dog's breakfast". The authority would buy and transmit ready-made programmes, but would not produce them as the BBC and the independent companies do on the other three channels. It would, however, run its own news service. It would not be allowed to show feature films. It would be financed partly by advertising revenue, with advertisements appearing in 20-minute blocks, as is the practice in West Germany, and partly by education grants and by direct sponsorship by industry. Mr Julian Crickley, MP for Aldershot and the Conservative committee's chairman, said that the proposed authority would offer the public minority broadcasting, which they would not watch but which they would have to pay for. He was also critical of two other proposals in the report. These are that a joint public inquiry board be set up for broadcasting and that a separate authority be established to run the BBC's and IBA's local radio stations. The broad outlines of the report were published on Sunday in *The Observer* and other Sunday newspapers. It is not due to be published officially until Thursday. The Government, the BBC, the IBA, and the independent broadcasting companies decided to convene yesterday. Among its lesser proposals, the report suggests that there should be no advertisements during children's programmes; that Radio Times and TV Times be merged; that the simul-



Mr Houseman: Died with wife in road accident.

Former Chelsea player killed

Mr Peter Houseman, the Oxford United and former Chelsea footballer, died with his wife Sally, and two other people in a three-car accident near Oxford early yesterday. Four others were badly injured. Mr Houseman had played for Oxford for two years.

Palestinians agree on a political programme

The programme called for making the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2336 of 1974 the basis of efforts to realize Palestinian rights. This resolution recognized their rights and acknowledged the PLO as their sole representative. Another point in the programme called for an increase in guerrilla operations in Israel-occupied Arab territories and rejected what it described as United States "sell-out solutions". It also underlined the PLO's determination to foil attempts to settle the crisis at the expense of the Palestinians. The programme said the Palestine National Charter was still the basis of Palestinian strategy. The charter was adopted in 1964. It stipulated that there should be no peace with Israel, and no negotiations with Israel, and no recognition of the Jewish state. This led Israel to describe the PLO as a terrorist organization seeking its destruction and the United States also refused to agree to any PLO delegation going to Geneva as an independent party unless the charter was changed. The programme also affirmed "the importance of national unity politically and militarily between all groups of the Palestinian revolution within the framework of the PLO as a basic condition for victory".

High turn-out lifts right-wing hope in French ballot

A good turn-out by French voters in the second round of the municipal elections suggested that the government parties had succeeded in getting their supporters to the polls to block further advances by the left. At midday votes cast were running 2 per cent higher than in the first ballot. For the first time, Mr Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist leader, had high hopes of being elected Mayor.

Party list system likely for Europe

The White Paper on direct elections to Europe is likely to be published next week, and may propose use of the regional party list system. As a once-for-all operation that would ensure more equal representation between the parties and help to counter Conservative domination of the European delegation in a bad year for Labour.

Treasury likely to remain one unit

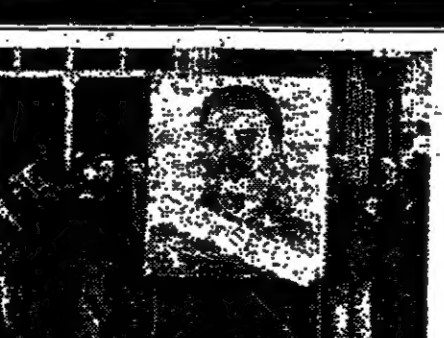
The Prime Minister is unlikely to split the Treasury into two departments while Mr Healey remains Chancellor. Mr Healey is not an advocate of division and the burden of the Treasury has been eased by the promotion to the Cabinet of Mr Barnett, Treasury Chief Secretary.

Exam results doubts

Figures suggesting that comprehensive school pupils are not doing as well in examinations as grammar and secondary modern children should be treated with the "utmost caution", Dame Margaret Miles, chairman of the Campaign for Comprehensive Education, said.

Lyle beats Bugner

Joe Bugner, of Britain, suffered a severe blow to his hopes of another fight with Muhammad Ali when he was beaten on points by Ron Lyle, of the United States, over 12 rounds in Las Vegas last night.



Face from the past: It was a terse message which protesters against the harassment of Jews in the Soviet Union transmitted to passers by outside the Soviet Embassy in London yesterday. The demonstrators were members of the Herut Movement, a Zionist revisionist organization, and the National Council for Soviet Jewry. "Threat to peace", page 8

Curfew in Pakistan

After a weekend of violence in which 35 people were killed, two industrial areas of Karachi have been put under curfew. The riots came after Mr Bhutto's disputed victory in Pakistan's general elections held earlier this month.

Castro Tanzania visit

Dr Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, inspected Cuba's aid programme to Tanzania. He told Tanzanian national servicemen and Cuban technicians at a Cuban-aided agricultural school: "We would like to help you more but we cannot because our resources are pre-occupied in Angola".

300 hurt in violent nuclear protest

More than 300 people were injured when a West German protest by a crowd of 12,000 turned into a violent clash with police. A militant group, wearing helmets, carrying armed wine sticks and iron bars, attacked the guarded perimeter fence with wire cutters, grappling hooks and oxy-acetylene equipment.

Leader page, 15

Letters: On cannabis and the law from Lady Woodcock on terrorism in Oman from Mr Edward Ray and others; and on women at Oxford from the Principal of Somerville College. Leading articles: Liberals in the limelight; Bastion of Marxism in Africa. Features, pages 14 and 16: Francis Cripps and Wynne Godley explain why taxes should be cut by £2 billion; Eric Motson, on the long-distance lorry driver; Nicholas Ashford examines the black man's burden in Zambia; Norman Moss presents a profile of Herman Kahn; Dr Tony Smith examines the theory if it was a disease that finally killed off the Roman Empire. Arts, page 12: William Gaur on the Utamaro exhibition at Whitechapel; Ian Trevis reviews *Who's Who in the Firm*; Irving Wardle on *The Memorandum* (Orange Tree, Richmond); Ned Chaffler on *Indigity* (Birmingham Rep); Miles Kingston on Dick Caryl (Pizza Express); Richard Williams on *The Commodores*. Obituary, page 17: Viscount Cobham; Mr Seton Gordon; President Nguabi; Carlos Pace. Sport, pages 8-10: Football: Review of weekend FA Cup matches; Cricket: West Indies build big total against Pakistan in third Test; Athletics: England beat Britain in cross-country race; Racing: Michael Phillips previews the flat racing season; Rugby League: France's first victory over England since 1970; Skating: Stenmark retains World Cup. Business News, pages 15-20: Financial editor: Testing the market with a gilt-edged novelty; Building societies' investment tactics; Thomas Northwick negotiating with the NFU Trust. Business feature: Rosemary Brown looks at the pressures on the small high street traders. Business Diary: Libyans lead a quiet revolution at Fiat.

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Peter Sellers hospital

Peter Sellers, the actor, in Charing Cross Hospital, London, last night after collapsing on an Air France flight from Paris to Heathrow. The wife said he was under erosion and his condition satisfactory. A doctor on the aircraft gave him a blood transfusion and a doctor on the aircraft gave him a blood transfusion and a doctor on the aircraft gave him a blood transfusion.

Strike will close most docks today

Most of Britain's big ports are expected to be at a standstill today because of a one-day strike by dockers in protest at the threatened closure of Preston docks. Dockers in London and Aberdeen are likely to work normally. There will be no work at Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Grimsby, Middlesbrough, Bristol or Southampton. About 50 ships will be idle in Humber docks.



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HOME NEWS

Ulster Unionists want devolved assembly as a condition of support in confidence vote

From Christopher Walker, Belfast

After two days of hectic political activity behind the scenes, opinion was strengthening last night that the Government will be able to count on the vote of only one MP from Northern Ireland in Wednesday's confidence debate in the Commons.

In spite of a continued silence from Mr. Enoch Powell and Mr. James Moynihan, leader of the "loyalist" coalition at Westminster, it was believed that short of an unprecedented about-turn by the Government on the issue of power-sharing, all 10 Ulster Unionists (including the two independents) would vote with the Conservatives.

There was also considerable local speculation that the Ulster Unionist MP, Mr. Frank Maguire, the independent republican from Fermanagh and South Tyrone, would abstain because of the lack of progress in his one-man campaign to improve

prison conditions for members of the Provisional IRA. That was impossible to check conclusively, as Mr. Maguire was unavailable for comment at a remote holiday retreat in the Donegal mountains.

That would leave Mr. Gerard Fitz, leader of the mainly Roman Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party, as the Government's one certain supporter from Ulster. But even he was insisting that his vote was dependent on the Government not concluding any last-minute political deals with his loyalist opponents.

Both publicly and privately the Unionists have made clear that the minimum requirement for a change of heart will be a public pledge by the Government to introduce a devolved assembly in Northern Ireland. That would rule out any possibility of institutionalized power-sharing with the minority and open the way for a return of majority government at Stormont.

That argument was summed

up yesterday by Mr. James McCusker, the United Ulster Unionist MP for Carrickfergus, who described Unionist demands as being "for nothing short of a return to the same standards of democracy as exist in Westminster or are proposed for the assembly of Scotland".

He emphasized that the loyalists would also be expecting some concrete assurances from the Conservative Party to ensure their voting support on Wednesday.

The demand for a new assembly for Northern Ireland along the lines of the rejected Conservative report will be made at Westminster today when Mr. Moynihan is scheduled to meet the Prime Minister and other members of the Government.

Other matters to be requested by the Unionists will include guarantees about increased representation at Westminster, tougher local security measures against the IRA and renewed high levels of economic aid.

On the Unionist side the main uncertainty concerns the attitude of Mr. Powell, one of only three loyalists who have not yet declared publicly their determination to bring down the Government. But it was acknowledged in Belfast political circles that a refusal to vote with his colleagues could lose him the important UUUC endorsement in his Down, South, seat at any forthcoming election.

Of the two independent Unionists, Mr. James Kilfeather, MP for Down, North, has long been outspoken in his criticism of the Government and his determination to vote against it because of its security policies. Yesterday he dismissed Mr. Moynihan's planned talks with the Prime Minister as a waste of time.

Mr. William Craig, leader of the Vanguard Party and MP for Belfast, East, is also committed by a party decision taken six weeks ago to do all in his power to bring down the Government, mainly because of its refusal to take new political initiatives in Ulster.

Liberal offer 'the same as made to Mr Heath'

Continued from page 1

it still planned to legislate to nationalise water companies. More important, there were things which the Liberals believed that were not in the Government's programme, like nationalising banking and insurance.

A Government agreement with the Liberals would guarantee that some of that would go forward. It was known to Liberals what the Government's proposals were going to be on housing finance, an important issue on which the Liberals had strong views, because a great deal of encouragement could be given to home ownership, and "we do not know that is the Government view".

Mr. Steel said that was why he was not prepared to ask his party to go on propping up a government without knowing their policy. "We are," he added, "an opposition, independent party, and if the Government want our support they cannot proceed on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. They must proceed on a negotiated basis."

Was the lapsing of the devolution Bill an element in any pact with the Government? Mr. Steel replied that there was a majority of nearly 40 votes on the second reading of the

present unsatisfactory Bill in the Commons, and there were many points where critics of the Bill and those who would like devolution to go forward agreed.

But the overlapping powers of the Secretary of State for Scotland and the new Scottish Assembly were widely agreed to be unsatisfactory.

Moreover, the constitutional commission recommended that the assemblies should be elected by proportional representation and "the Government have remained quite adamant and said they were sticking to what the Labour Party wants. If they want our support this one of the things on which they would have to give way."

If there was going to be a guillotine on a revised devolution Bill, there would have to be an improved Bill first. Liberals were very strongly for separate Bills for Scotland and Wales. The Government simply ignored Parliament.

Under questioning, Mr. Steel was coy about proposals the Liberals have submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to influence the Budget he is to open tomorrow week.

He reluctantly confessed that Liberals based their economic proposals on securing a third year of pay agreement where-

by income tax concessions would be traded off against a bigger national insurance impost on employers, who would benefit consequently from a lowering of wage demands.

Peter Jay suggested that if the Government did not meet Mr. Steel's conditions he would have to go ahead and force a general election at an unfavourable time for the Liberal Party.

Mr. Steel rejected that analysis. "We did not accept those conditions were unfavourable for the Liberals on the evidence of recent opinion polls, compared with 1974." But even if I accepted your assumption we cannot accept the basis of voting in Parliament in accordance with our own wishes. We have to vote in the national interest or not."

Mr. Steel dismissed the argument that Liberals are a minority party by making the point that all Westminster parties are now minority parties, and "it is going to be a government based on the views of more than one party; we are making exactly the same offer that we made to Mr Heath in the aftermath of the February, 1974, election."

He said that Mr. Heath rejected the offer of consistent

Liberal support (Mr. Heath's version would be that Mr. Heath could not carry his colleagues with him), but there was not a parliamentary majority for it.

Asked about the ethics of precipitating an election to bring down Mr. Callaghan and instead Mr. Thatcher as Prime Minister, Mr. Steel commented that at the end of the day "you have to have confidence in the electorate". He did not think a great Tory landslide would occur. Even if it did, that would be what the people had voted for. What was wrong with that? If the people voted for that, "we should have to live with it."

In any event, Mr. Steel said, he favoured a fixed-term Parliament instead of an open-ended option for the Prime Minister as now. He added: "It is really a decision for the Government, not the Liberal Party, whether we are going to have an election after next Wednesday, and it is for the Labour Party and its left wing to decide."

At the end of the interview, Mr. Steel provisionally added to his requirements for any pact with Mr. Callaghan some progress on direct elections next year to the European Parliament.

Moment of truth, page 15

SNP confident of taking Glasgow City Council

From Martin Huckerby, Edinburgh

The Scottish nationalists are poised to topple the Labour Party from its central citadel in Scotland, the Glasgow City District Council, in the local elections in May. They believe that not only can they take control of a council on which they have only one member at present, but also that they can make great inroads elsewhere.

Local election results are an unrelenting guide to voters' behaviour at a subsequent general election, and the Labour Party in Scotland will no doubt shrug off its losses as no more than the usual local election swing against the party in power nationally.

Psychologically, however, such results will be very important. It will be the first real test of public opinion in Scotland since the defeat of the guillotine on the devolution Bill, and any victories over Labour, and over the Conservatives will be trumpeted by the Scottish National Party as clear evidence of a growing demand for independence.

Nevertheless, all is not plain sailing for the nationalists as they prepare for the elections. Despite the propaganda, the party is being selective about the seats it is contesting, and in some cities where it has considerable support, such as Aberdeen, Perth and Dundee, it is planning to put up so few candidates that even if they were all elected there would be no chance of the SNP gaining control.

In Dundee, for instance, where the nationalists hold one of the two parliamentary seats and believe they will soon have the other, they seem to have an ideal target in a Labour administration riven by accusations of corruption and by faction fights between left and right wings.

Labour holds control there only with the casting vote of the lord provost, and the opposition Progressive Conservative group is confident of taking over on May 3, particularly since several of the sitting Labour councillors have not been renominated by the left-wing controlled party, and

some of those are considering standing as independents.

Yet the SNP may not put up any candidates at all, and at most would probably nominate only six people. The official explanation is that the party prefers to concentrate on parliamentary elections, but Mr. Brian Innes-Will, the SNP's vice-chairman for organization, admitted yesterday that Dundee council was in such a mess that his party did not want to get involved in the intractable political and economic problems.

Generally, the party says that it wants to ensure it has worthy candidates, and it also wants to husband its resources so as to gain as many victories as possible. Thus, in Edinburgh it is likely to contest perhaps only half of the seats, and in the five districts of the Grampian region, including Aberdeen, is planning to put up a meagre 30 candidates.

Mr. Innes-Will said that there would be at least 350 candidates in May, concentrated heavily in the central industrial belt, which is Labour's heartland.

The nationalists certainly have a chance of taking over in Glasgow, where they might need only one or two of the seats to gain control. The Labour Party's assistant Scottish organizer, Mr. James Allison, said after the guillotine defeat: "I think it will be exceptionally difficult for the Labour Party to retain control of Glasgow and some of the larger district councils like Renfrew."

The SNP is well aware of the danger of taking over a council with an inexperienced team. Party officials have drawn up lists of candidates who would be suitable for important posts.

Control of Glasgow might bring political kudos, but in the long term could prove damaging. At present the social and economic ills can be blamed on the Labour administration. One of the features of the three-party system in much of Scotland is that a party can wield considerable influence on a council while remaining in a minority. To hold the balance of power may be more advantageous than complete control.

Labour chooses NUM man

Mr. Raymond Ellis, aged 53, president of the Derbyshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers, was chosen last night as prospective parliamentary Labour candidate for Derbyshire, North-East. Mr. Thomas Swain (Labour) had a majority of 10,237 at the last general election in a three-cornered fight.

Mr. Ian Smith, aged 40, a Glasgow photographer, has been adopted as the Scottish National Party's prospective parliamentary candidate for Kinross and West Perthshire. Mr. Nicholas Fairbairn, QC (Conservative), had a majority of 55 at the last general election.

Hunt protesters disrupt service

The Rev. Eric Wheeler, vicar of St. Stephen's, Brompton, Essex, called in the police to effect demonstrators who interfered with his church service yesterday morning.

The demonstrators carried placards attacking the vicar, a member of the Packeridge and Thurlow Hunt, for his hunting activities.

Sir James Miller dies

Sir James Miller, Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1951 to 1954 and Lord Mayor of London from 1964 to 1965, died yesterday. He was 72.

Tories ready for election, Mrs Thatcher says

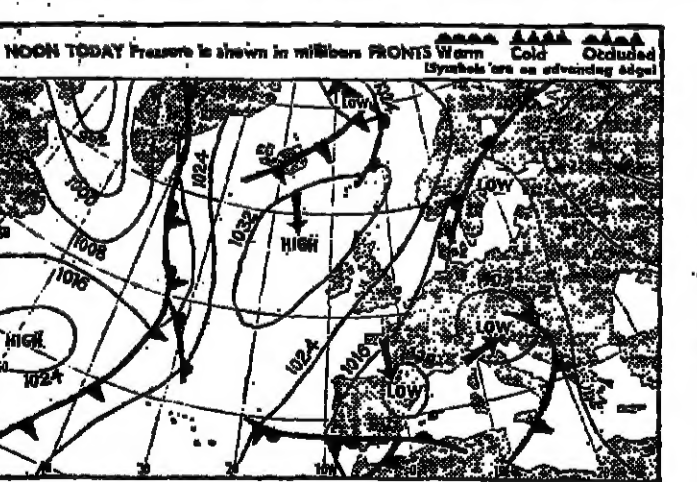
"A government that cannot get its major policies through the House of Commons cannot survive," Mrs. Thatcher, Leader of the Opposition, said in a speech to the Conservative Central Council conference at Torquay on Saturday.

In an attack on the Government's behaviour in the Commons on Thursday night, she declared: "It is as if a demoralized army, when they had lost the day said, 'We can't have been defeated because we just ran away.' Should an election come, the Tories were ready. She continued: "This time last year we had just witnessed unusual events in the Commons. Then, the Government had lost a vote on the Public Expenditure White Paper. I had called on the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, to let the voters decide the Government's fate. But at least we must congratulate

the last Prime Minister, first on actually voting, second on tabling a motion of confidence on his own initiative the next day and debating it, and third on knowing when to go. The events of last week's public expenditure debate are of a kind that we have never seen."

She said that no government faced with a parliamentary battle had turned and fled, then claimed, "We weren't defeated, we didn't vote." This was a major issue. Public expenditure comes from the taxpayer's pay packet or the pensioner's pension. Every pound taken by the Government is a pound lost for the citizen to spend himself. And the Government must take a lot of pounds. To be precise, it is proposing to spend some £52,000 million this year. To us, all power is a trust and we are responsible for its exercise. Responsible to whom? To Parliament, to the elected representatives of the people. But this is the very body the Government tries to stop from taking a decisive vote.

Weather forecast and recordings



Today
Sun rises: 7.2 am
Sun sets: 7.15 pm
Moon rises: 7.33 am
Moon sets: 9.23 pm
First Quarter: March 27.
Lighting up: 7.45 pm to 6.29 am.
High water: London Bridge, 3.43 am, 7.30 am (23.9 ft); 4.5 pm, 7.40 am (24.2 ft).
Low water: London Bridge, 13.6 am (44.5 ft), 9.51 pm (13.3 ft).
Dover, 12.46 am, 6.8 m (22.3 ft); 1.3 pm, 6.6 m (21.7 ft).
Bristol, 8.5 am, 7.2 m (23.6 ft); 8.13 pm, 7.3 m (23.9 ft).
Liverpool, 12.29 am, 9.1 m (29.9 ft); 1.13 pm, 9.3 m (30.7 ft).

Pressure will remain high NW of Britain with a NE stream over all districts.
Forecasts for 6 am to midnight:
London, East Anglia, E, SE, NE England: Mostly cloudy, occasional rain; wind NE, moderate or fresh; max 8°C (46°F).
Central and NW England, Midlands: Bright intervals, occasional showers; wind NE moderate; max 8°C (46°F).

Tomorrow
Mainly dry, sunny intervals; wind NE, light or moderate; max temp 9°C (48°F).
SW, NW England, Wales, Lake District: Sunny intervals, scattered showers; wind NE, moderate; max temp 10°C (50°F), moderate; max temp 10°C (50°F).
Isle of Man, Glasgow, Argyll, NW, SW Scotland, N Ireland: Mainly dry, sunny intervals; wind NE, light or moderate; max temp 9°C (48°F).
Bardonia, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Exeter, Highlands: Bright intervals, scattered showers, sleet or snow on high ground; wind NE, moderate or fresh; max temp 6°C (43°F).
Moray Firth, NE Scotland, Orkney, Shetland: Bright intervals, a few wintry showers; wind NE, moderate or fresh; max temp 5°C (41°F).

Wednesday
Mainly dry in the W with sunny periods and temp near normal; mostly cloudy and rather cold in E with showers, chiefly in the SE; overnight frost in places. Sea passages: S North Sea, Strait of Dover, English Channel.

WEATHER REPORTS YESTERDAY MIDDAY: c, cloud; f, fair; r, rain; s, sun.
Aberdeen: c, 11°C; Glasgow: c, 11°C; London: c, 11°C; Manchester: c, 11°C; Newcastle: c, 11°C; Nottingham: c, 11°C; Oxford: c, 11°C; Plymouth: c, 11°C; Reading: c, 11°C; Southampton: c, 11°C; Swansea: c, 11°C; Cardiff: c, 11°C; Exeter: c, 11°C; Gloucester: c, 11°C; Hereford: c, 11°C; Ipswich: c, 11°C; Leicester: c, 11°C; Lincoln: c, 11°C; Loughborough: c, 11°C; Luton: c, 11°C; Middlesbrough: c, 11°C; Milton Keynes: c, 11°C; Norwich: c, 11°C; Peterborough: c, 11°C; Preston: c, 11°C; Rotherham: c, 11°C; Sheffield: c, 11°C; Slough: c, 11°C; Stevenage: c, 11°C; Stoke-on-Trent: c, 11°C; Sudbury: c, 11°C; Telford: c, 11°C; Thame: c, 11°C; Thurston: c, 11°C; Tipton: c, 11°C; Uxbridge: c, 11°C; Walsley: c, 11°C; Warrington: c, 11°C; Watlington: c, 11°C; Welwyn Garden City: c, 11°C; Weymouth: c, 11°C; Wigton: c, 11°C; Wokingham: c, 11°C; Worcester: c, 11°C; Wrexham: c, 11°C; York: c, 11°C.

All-in exam figures 'need utmost caution'

By Tim Devlin, Education Correspondent

Dame Margaret Miles, chairman of the Campaign for Comprehensive Education, said yesterday that figures published in *The Sunday Times* which suggested that comprehensive school pupils were not doing as well in examinations as grammar and secondary modern children should be treated with "the utmost caution".

They did not allow for the fact that the remaining selective schools tended to be in the more prosperous suburban and country areas like Buckinghamshire and Surrey. It was very difficult to find a similar social make-up to compare the two systems. Nor did the figures give enough time-span for comprehensive schools to recover from the uncertainties of reorganization.

The debate over comprehensive and grammar schools is likely to be further fanned tonight by a television documentary in BBC's *Tomorrow* programme showing the differences of teaching in the different London comprehensive and grammar schools.

The Sunday Times quoted an article by Mr. Raymond Baldwin, chairman of the governors of Manchester Grammar School, which is due to be published in a new book paper on education on Thursday. Mr. Baldwin cites Department of Education and Science statistics to show that the proportion of school-leavers with five O levels and one or more A levels fell between 1971 and 1975.

He says that the high increase of the number passing at least one CSE or O level between 1966 and 1974 is a direct result of the introduction of the CSE in 1965 and the raising of the school-leaving age to 16 in 1973.

The statistics show that the proportion of children leaving maintained schools with five or more O levels (or CSE grade ones) fell from 18.65 per cent in 1971 to 17.84 per cent in 1975. Those with two or more A levels fell from 10.52 per cent in 1971 to 9.51 per cent in 1974 and rose slightly to 9.8 per cent in 1975.

Mr. Baldwin points out that between 1971 and 1975 the numbers of children in comprehensive schools increased rapidly to three quarters of the total secondary school population. Mr. Baldwin has worked out that grammar schools should be given a handicap to allow for their increasing output.

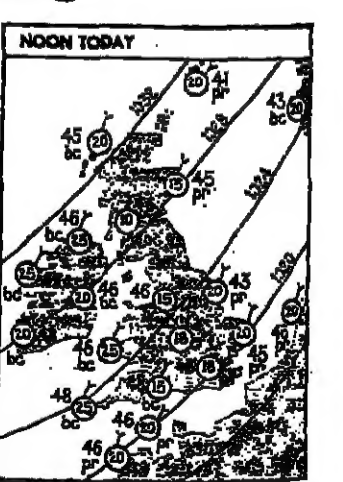
Using such a handicap he calculates that 16 per cent of school-leavers left comprehensives in 1974 with at least five O levels, compared with more than 20 per cent from grammar and secondary modern schools. The difference favours for those who left in 1975 with two or more A levels, 8.76 per cent, in comprehensives and 11.68 per cent in grammar schools.

Further researches by Mr. Baldwin show a dramatic increase in the proportion of school-leavers passing O and A levels in the Roman Catholic selective schools in Manchester between 1964 and 1976.

The proportion increased by 370 per cent for O levels and by 500 per cent for A levels. The large increases in the Roman Catholic schools were due to massive expansion after better government grants and an influx of children from outside the city.

Mr. Baldwin said last night that those figures did not show a failure by comprehensive schools. The large increases in the Roman Catholic schools were due to massive expansion after better government grants and an influx of children from outside the city.

Weather forecast and recordings



Today
Sun rises: 7.2 am
Sun sets: 7.15 pm
Moon rises: 7.33 am
Moon sets: 9.23 pm
First Quarter: March 27.
Lighting up: 7.45 pm to 6.29 am.
High water: London Bridge, 3.43 am, 7.30 am (23.9 ft); 4.5 pm, 7.40 am (24.2 ft).
Low water: London Bridge, 13.6 am (44.5 ft), 9.51 pm (13.3 ft).
Dover, 12.46 am, 6.8 m (22.3 ft); 1.3 pm, 6.6 m (21.7 ft).
Bristol, 8.5 am, 7.2 m (23.6 ft); 8.13 pm, 7.3 m (23.9 ft).
Liverpool, 12.29 am, 9.1 m (29.9 ft); 1.13 pm, 9.3 m (30.7 ft).

Pressure will remain high NW of Britain with a NE stream over all districts.
Forecasts for 6 am to midnight:
London, East Anglia, E, SE, NE England: Mostly cloudy, occasional rain; wind NE, moderate or fresh; max 8°C (46°F).
Central and NW England, Midlands: Bright intervals, occasional showers; wind NE moderate; max 8°C (46°F).

Tomorrow
Mainly dry, sunny intervals; wind NE, light or moderate; max temp 9°C (48°F).
SW, NW England, Wales, Lake District: Sunny intervals, scattered showers; wind NE, moderate; max temp 10°C (50°F), moderate; max temp 10°C (50°F).
Isle of Man, Glasgow, Argyll, NW, SW Scotland, N Ireland: Mainly dry, sunny intervals; wind NE, light or moderate; max temp 9°C (48°F).
Bardonia, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, Exeter, Highlands: Bright intervals, scattered showers, sleet or snow on high ground; wind NE, moderate or fresh; max temp 6°C (43°F).
Moray Firth, NE Scotland, Orkney, Shetland: Bright intervals, a few wintry showers; wind NE, moderate or fresh; max temp 5°C (41°F).







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CARRINGTON

HOME NEWS

Ministers may propose party list system for Europe elections

By Our Political Editor

The Cabinet has made enough progress in approving a White Paper (with green edges) on direct elections to the European Parliament to be reasonably confident of publishing it next week. Drafted by Mr. Rees, the Home Secretary, who carries responsibility for all elections in the United Kingdom, it largely states problems and canvasses solutions.

By all accounts Mr. Rees, who stands closer to the Prime Minister than most other senior ministers, is arguing in Cabinet for the United Kingdom not to incur the odium of being the only country obstructing European elections "timed for May or June next year."

Like everybody else, he does not underestimate the difficulties for the Government and the political parties outside Westminster in keeping to the agreed summit timetable, but he is not hidebound by first-past-the-post precedents or frightened by the abundant academic calculations that the Labour Party would be virtually extinguished in a bad year by the election to the European Parliament of 81 MPs from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Several senior members of the Cabinet are confident that Labour would be sure of taking Yorkshire, Wales and probably Lancashire for the European MPs.

My impression is that if, after Cabinet discussions, the United Kingdom is to be offered a government plan for direct elections next year, it is likely to take the form of a regional party list system.

Anti-Europeanists would object to that as undemocratic and an affront to United Kingdom electoral practice, but as a once-and-for-all operation it would ensure more equal representation between the parties and help to counter a Conservative domination of the European delegation in a bad year for Labour.

It would also serve to weaken the Westminster argument for what is called the dual mandate: that is, joint membership of the parliaments at Westminster and in Strasbourg.

One of the party managerial objections to the escape route, however, is that it is entirely new brand of United Kingdom politician, who would tend to diminish Westminster sovereignty and fragment party discipline; and the fact that European MPs are going to be much better paid than those at Westminster raises difficult questions.

Although there have been no official talks between Government and Opposition about the drift of the White Paper, it is fairly clear that the Opposition would prefer the election to the European Parliament to be decided by the first-past-the-post system.

It is probably the solution the leaders of both main political parties at Westminster would prefer, at least for the first directly elected European Parliament with a set lifetime of five years. After 1983, it is laid down that there should be a uniform system of election, almost certainly including proportional representation throughout the Nine.

Parachutist rescued

An RAF helicopter from Leuchars, Fife, yesterday rescued a girl parachutist who had landed 30 feet up a tree near Auchtermarder, Tayside.

£200,000 lifeboat

A new £200,000 self-righting lifeboat is due on station in the Humber on Wednesday. The glass-fibre City of Bradford will have a range of 200 miles.

Budget preview 1: Public opinion and personal tax cuts

MPs note anger over 'increasing burden'

By Neville Hodgkinson

Nearly three years ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer was promising the Labour Party that he would squeeze the rich until the pips squeaked. Now he is planning tax cuts and talking of the need to improve incentives over the whole range of income levels.

The inspiration behind any tax changes in his forthcoming Budget will owe as much to public opinion as to the views of experts on economic efficiency. Labour MPs and party officials over much of Britain have been receiving the clear message that one of the big preoccupations among working people, more intense and potentially more explosive than in previous years, is the ever-growing slice of their wages taken in income tax.

In money terms, everyone is paying on average nearly three times as much as he was four years ago, a rate of increase far exceeding the rise in average earnings.

The anger is seen as a potential threat to Labour's social welfare policies, to the wage restraint sought through the health of the nation. Tax-avoidance has already become a national habit, according to Sir Norman Price, the former chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue.

Social security recipients have become a target of public criticism, generally misplaced. For most of them the system is grossly demeaning, because of the multitude of bits and pieces that Parliament has authorized as a substitute for straightfor-

HOW BRITAIN COMPARES

The latest available marginal personal income tax rates payable by a married man with two children under 11 years in Britain, France, Germany, United States and Japan are:

	Income	Income	Income
	£	francs	\$
UK	40.75	50	65
France	14.5	16.1	23.2
Germany	34.1	10.2	36
US	30.25	24.35	25
Japan	9.2	13.9	18.3

A = average UK earnings; B = 2 x average UK earnings; C = 3 x average UK earnings.

ward income-support at a satisfactory level. And it is inadequate for the many who fail to understand the red tape that accompanies such a system.

When a family man with two children can be earning £70 a week and be no better off than if he was not working at all, an instance cited by the Chancellor himself, it is not surprising that resentments arise.

The reason for the increased tax burden is that for many years most Chancellors have failed to adjust the value of personal and other allowances against tax to take adequate account of inflation. As money incomes have risen the threshold over which a wage-earner begins to pay tax, or to pay at a higher rate, has fallen.

In fact, when cuts have been made, the tendency has been to talk of the Chancellor's "giving away" so much money.

Income of £74. In 1976-77, the equivalent money income was £195 a week, but the couple would pay £94 in taxes and the net income after tax would give

estimated £17,045m in 1976-77, an increase of 129 per cent.

Simply to restore the single person's and married couple's allowances of £735 and £1,085 to their real value at February, 1974, the Chancellor would have to raise them by £275 and £230 respectively.

In the tax year 1964-65, a married man with two children under 11 lost less than a tenth of his pay in income tax and national insurance contributions if he had an income equivalent to average male earnings. Now he loses nearly a quarter.

In 1973-74 he had to start paying tax on his earnings at £1,115 a year; in 1976-77 the threshold has fallen to £963, reckoning in 1973 prices.

Over the same period the proportion of pay lost by a similar family on twice the average earnings rose from 18.9 per cent to nearly a third; on five times the average earnings, from just over a quarter to nearly half; and on 10 times, from 37 per cent to nearly two-thirds.

In the past few years the growth in income tax has been accompanied by actual, and sometimes substantial, falls in the real purchasing power of after-tax income.

A relatively prosperous retired couple with an investment income of £114 a week in 1973-74, three times the average earnings of that time, paid £40 in income tax, leaving a net income of £74. In 1976-77, the equivalent money income was £195 a week, but the couple would pay £94 in taxes and the net income after tax would give

IMPACT OF POVERTY TRAP ON COUPLE WITH FOUR CHILDREN

	Income	Fam	Tax	NI	FIS	Rent	Rent	Rates	Rates	Work	Free	Free	Net
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Earning 645	46.00	-4.50	-2.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.02	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-2.25	-0.87	45.28
Earning 655	56.00	-4.50	-2.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	46.68
Earning 665	66.00	-4.50	-3.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	48.08
Earning 675	76.00	-4.50	-3.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	49.48
Earning 685	86.00	-4.50	-4.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	50.88
Earning 695	96.00	-4.50	-4.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	52.28
Earning 705	106.00	-4.50	-5.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	53.68
Earning 715	116.00	-4.50	-5.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	55.08
Earning 725	126.00	-4.50	-6.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	56.48
Earning 735	136.00	-4.50	-6.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	57.88
Earning 745	146.00	-4.50	-7.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	59.28
Earning 755	156.00	-4.50	-7.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	60.68
Earning 765	166.00	-4.50	-8.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	62.08
Earning 775	176.00	-4.50	-8.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	63.48
Earning 785	186.00	-4.50	-9.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	64.88
Earning 795	196.00	-4.50	-9.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	66.28
Earning 805	206.00	-4.50	-10.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	67.68
Earning 815	216.00	-4.50	-10.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	69.08
Earning 825	226.00	-4.50	-11.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	70.48
Earning 835	236.00	-4.50	-11.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	71.88
Earning 845	246.00	-4.50	-12.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	73.28
Earning 855	256.00	-4.50	-12.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	74.68
Earning 865	266.00	-4.50	-13.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	76.08
Earning 875	276.00	-4.50	-13.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	77.48
Earning 885	286.00	-4.50	-14.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	78.88
Earning 895	296.00	-4.50	-14.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	80.28
Earning 905	306.00	-4.50	-15.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	81.68
Earning 915	316.00	-4.50	-15.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	83.08
Earning 925	326.00	-4.50	-16.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	84.48
Earning 935	336.00	-4.50	-16.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	85.88
Earning 945	346.00	-4.50	-17.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	87.28
Earning 955	356.00	-4.50	-17.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	88.68
Earning 965	366.00	-4.50	-18.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	90.08
Earning 975	376.00	-4.50	-18.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	91.48
Earning 985	386.00	-4.50	-19.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	92.88
Earning 995	396.00	-4.50	-19.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	94.28
Earning 1005	406.00	-4.50	-20.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	95.68
Earning 1015	416.00	-4.50	-20.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	97.08
Earning 1025	426.00	-4.50	-21.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	98.48
Earning 1035	436.00	-4.50	-21.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	99.88
Earning 1045	446.00	-4.50	-22.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	101.28
Earning 1055	456.00	-4.50	-22.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	102.68
Earning 1065	466.00	-4.50	-23.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	104.08
Earning 1075	476.00	-4.50	-23.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	105.48
Earning 1085	486.00	-4.50	-24.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	106.88
Earning 1095	496.00	-4.50	-24.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	108.28
Earning 1105	506.00	-4.50	-25.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	109.68
Earning 1115	516.00	-4.50	-25.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	111.08
Earning 1125	526.00	-4.50	-26.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	112.48
Earning 1135	536.00	-4.50	-26.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	113.88
Earning 1145	546.00	-4.50	-27.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	115.28
Earning 1155	556.00	-4.50	-27.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	116.68
Earning 1165	566.00	-4.50	-28.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	118.08
Earning 1175	576.00	-4.50	-28.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	119.48
Earning 1185	586.00	-4.50	-29.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	120.88
Earning 1195	596.00	-4.50	-29.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	122.28
Earning 1205	606.00	-4.50	-30.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	123.68
Earning 1215	616.00	-4.50	-30.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	125.08
Earning 1225	626.00	-4.50	-31.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	126.48
Earning 1235	636.00	-4.50	-31.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	127.88
Earning 1245	646.00	-4.50	-32.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	129.28
Earning 1255	656.00	-4.50	-32.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	130.68
Earning 1265	666.00	-4.50	-33.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	132.08
Earning 1275	676.00	-4.50	-33.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	133.48
Earning 1285	686.00	-4.50	-34.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	134.88
Earning 1295	696.00	-4.50	-34.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	136.28
Earning 1305	706.00	-4.50	-35.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	137.68
Earning 1315	716.00	-4.50	-35.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	139.08
Earning 1325	726.00	-4.50	-36.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	140.48
Earning 1335	736.00	-4.50	-36.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	141.88
Earning 1345	746.00	-4.50	-37.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	143.28
Earning 1355	756.00	-4.50	-37.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	144.68
Earning 1365	766.00	-4.50	-38.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	146.08
Earning 1375	776.00	-4.50	-38.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	147.48
Earning 1385	786.00	-4.50	-39.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	148.88
Earning 1395	796.00	-4.50	-39.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	150.28
Earning 1405	806.00	-4.50	-40.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	151.68
Earning 1415	816.00	-4.50	-40.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	153.08
Earning 1425	826.00	-4.50	-41.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	154.48
Earning 1435	836.00	-4.50	-41.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	155.88
Earning 1445	846.00	-4.50	-42.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	157.28
Earning 1455	856.00	-4.50	-42.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	158.68
Earning 1465	866.00	-4.50	-43.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	160.08
Earning 1475	876.00	-4.50	-43.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	161.48
Earning 1485	886.00	-4.50	-44.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	162.88
Earning 1495	896.00	-4.50	-44.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	164.28
Earning 1505	906.00	-4.50	-45.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	165.68
Earning 1515	916.00	-4.50	-45.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	167.08
Earning 1525	926.00	-4.50	-46.32	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50	-0.87	168.48
Earning 1535	936.00	-4.50	-46.82	-2.38	+1.50	-5.38	-4.32	-2.18	-1.98	-1.78	-1.50		

HOME NEWS

Treasury break-up unlikely while Mr Healey remains

By Peter Heennessy

The Prime Minister is unlikely to split the Treasury while Mr Healey remains Chancellor of the Exchequer. The possibility of Mr Callaghan's dividing it into a Ministry of Finance and a Department of Manpower and Budget has diminished, at least for the time being, since the death of Mr Crosland last month.

Mr Healey has never been an advocate of change for its own sake in departmental arrangements. When such moves were mooted in his days at the Ministry of Defence he was fond of remarking: "You do not take out a man's appendix while he is lifting a grand piano."

The burden on the Chancellor has been greatly eased by the promotion to the Cabinet last month of his number two, Mr Joel Barnett, Chief Secretary to the Treasury. An accountant by training, Mr Barnett assists Mr Healey a good deal on taxation as well as expenditure matters.

His cabinet place has allowed the Chancellor to shed much of the detailed briefing on spending matters that was necessary previously.

Mr Healey would probably argue that breaking up the Treasury would once more add to the Chancellor's workload (one of the primary concerns of Mr Callaghan when he first considered the possibility before Christmas) rather than reduce it further.

The need for consultation between the Chancellor and his ministerial colleagues responsible for public expenditure would be greater and, consequently, more time-consuming. Few in Whitehall are satisfied with the present role of the Civil Service Department, to whose manpower divisions the

spending side of the Treasury would be added in the event of change. Some do argue, however, that cash limits have given the Treasury adequate control over manpower costs.

Another idea floated among the permanent secretaries is that manpower, recruitment, public appointments and honours should be entrusted to a public service commission, modelled on United States, Canadian and Australian practice, and answerable to the Prime Minister. The commission would negotiate on manpower levels with the public expenditure side of the Treasury and the Civil Service Department could be disbanded.

Last year it looked as if a future Conservative government would break up the Treasury. But a report to be circulated to the Shadow Cabinet this week comes out strongly against such a move.

The document reflects the views expressed by Mr David Howell, MP for Guildford, in a letter to *The Times* on March 11 in which he described breaking up the Treasury as "the wrong solution many years too late". Mr Howell was a member of the committee that produced the report under the chairmanship of Mr William Whitelaw, deputy leader of the Conservative Party.

The debate about the size and shape of the Treasury will continue this afternoon before the Select Committee on Expenditure. The first witness, Sir Samuel Goldman, will repeat his long-held view that its unity should be maintained.

The second witness will be Lord Diamond, Chief Secretary to the Treasury in 1964-70. In his book, *Public Expenditure in Practice*, published in 1975, he said that drawing a line between spending and the rest of Treasury work was clear and easy. Separation might make expenditure control "a fraction easier" but in general it was not easy to see whether it would be an improvement on present arrangements.

Growth areas condemned

Planners should take a fresh look at their ideas for the future of south-east England, the Council for the Protection of Rural England suggested yesterday. They should abandon the 11 growth areas designated in 1970 because the expected population and economic growth they were designed for had not materialized.

The council's director, Mr

Christopher Hall, speaking of the council's formal comments on the Review of the Strategic Plan for the South-east, published last October, said that the growth areas not only threatened to consume several thousand acres of food-producing land, but also threatened to bleed the inner areas of London of even more skilled labour and jobs.

Archbishop praises troops in Ulster

By Our Religious Affairs Correspondent

In his first St Patrick's Day sermon in Liverpool, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, Mgr Derek Worlock, yesterday praised the courage of British troops in Northern Ireland.

He told a congregation in the Metropolitan Cathedral drawn from the Irish community in Liverpool that the withdrawal of British forces was not the real issue, although the matter would not be solved by military means.

Mgr Worlock came to Liverpool exactly a year ago and has more than once since then been outspoken on Irish issues, contrary to what had become the custom among English Roman Catholic bishops, to leave comment on Irish affairs to the Irish bishops.

He said: "One must admire the bravery and communal spirit of those who undertake military duties in this difficult situation. Withdrawal or reduction of troops is not the real issue."

"Attention must surely be given once again to an attempt to secure by political means some form of shared responsibility, or power sharing. It is at least ironic that in these last months attention has been directed to Scotland and Wales, when surely the most important issue is some form of devolved government in Northern Ireland."

Ceasefire warning: Mr Airey spokesman on Northern Ireland, defended the Royal Ulster Constabulary yesterday and declared that "the Government must not be tricked into another Provisional IRA ceasefire, of which there are again rumours". (Our Political Staff writes.)

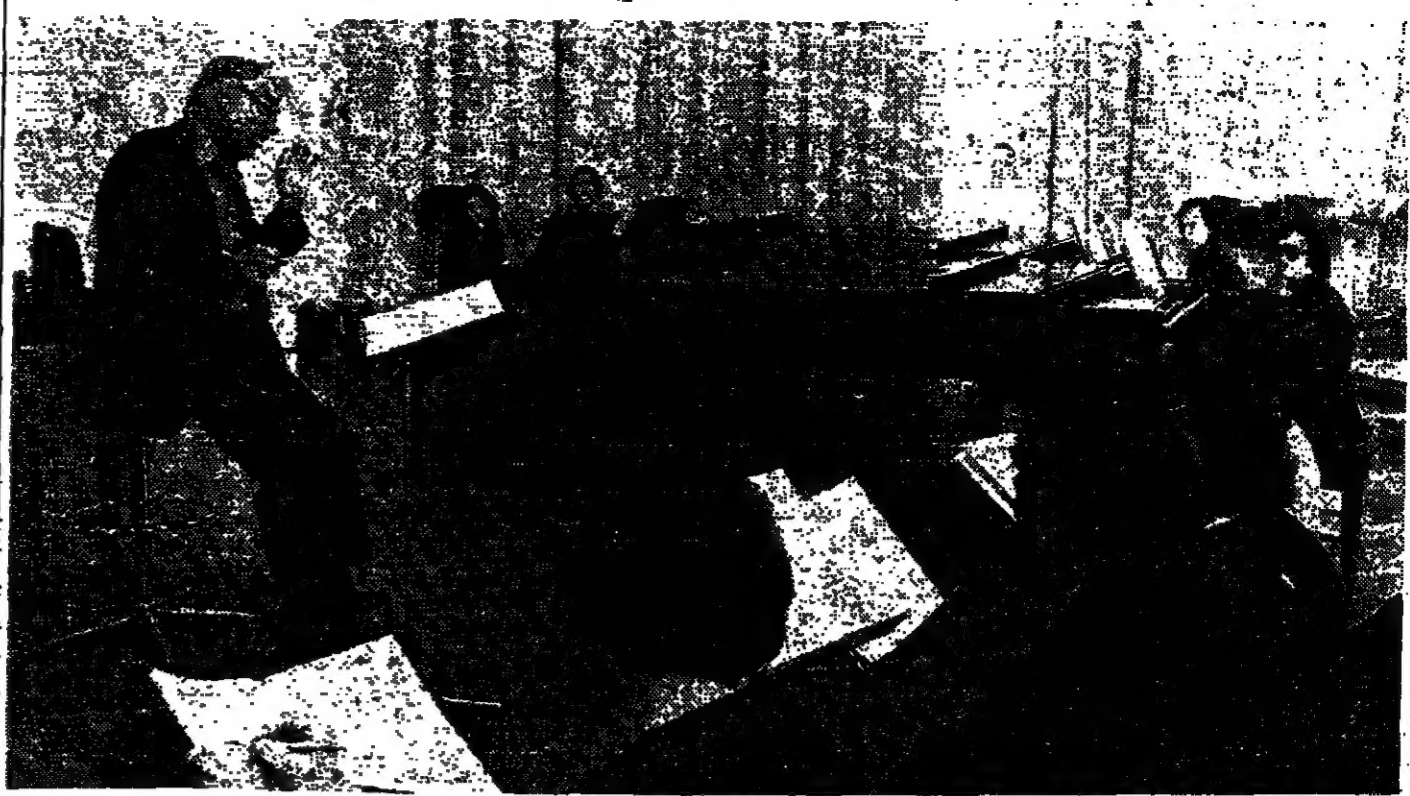
Speaking in Malvern, he urged the Government to give the RUC the recognition it deserved. "No civilian police force in Western Europe has a more difficult and dangerous task. They neither seek nor get much publicity until accusations are made against them." All complaints must be immediately investigated, he said, "even though a large proportion were groundless."

Mr Neave said the policeman in Ulster was a target by day and night.

In the past few years 100 members of the RUC had died, and 3,000 in a force of 5,000 had been injured.

All political parties should support the RUC and encourage Roman Catholics to join.

Letters, page 15



Leonard Bernstein rehearsing for a performance of *Les Noces*, by Stravinsky, to be given by the English Bach Festival Orchestra and Choir at the Festival Hall this evening.

Windscale objectors' list closes

By Our Science Editor

The list closes today for objectors submitting evidence to the public inquiry into expansion plans for the nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Windscale, Cumbria.

Although the examination under Mr Justice Parker cannot start before mid-June, the money for the scheme was expected to receive approval under the Nuclear Industry Finance Bill seeking provision of £300m last week.

As it was not debated, the proposals for Windscale may be one of the first victims if an election is called after Wednesday's vote in the Commons.

Long-term expenditure schemes for British Nuclear Fuels require £1,500m over the next 10 years. The immediate demand is for more than £200m to expand the Magnox fuel reprocessing plant to remove the waste from the fuel rods from existing nuclear power plants of the Central Electricity Generating Board.

Another £40m is for the development of the process to turn long-lived radioactive wastes into glass blocks. A third demand, for about £300m, is for the controversial reprocessing plant to handle oxide fuel from Japan, Spain, Sweden, Germany and other countries that have light water reactors.

Violent offenders guide sought

By Diana Geddes

Should the protection of the public be a sufficient reason for locking up dangerous offenders for longer periods than could be justified on other penological grounds such as rehabilitation, deterrence or punishment? If so, for how long? To what extent should the dangerous offender's individual human right to freedom be taken into consideration? What, indeed, is a "dangerous" offender?

Those are some of the questions put forward in a consultative document on dangerous offenders, published today, which has been drawn up by a committee of criminological experts chaired by Mrs Jean Floud, principal of Newnham College, Cambridge.

The 11-member committee, which includes Mr Francis Graham-Harrison, former Deputy Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office, Sir Brian MacKenna, the High Court

judge, and Dr Nigel Walker, Wolfson Professor of Criminology at Cambridge and a member of the Home Secretary's advisory council, was set up by the Howard League for Penal Reform and the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders with funds provided by the American Academy of Contemporary Problems, in Columbus, Ohio.

The British committee's consultative document, which has been drawn up after 10 months' work, including interviews with about 50 life-sentence prisoners, is designed to air the general medical, legal, ethical and social aspects of the matter and to stimulate discussion, not to provide any answers.

Copies of the document have been sent to a selection of judges, MPs, academics, individual members of voluntary and professional bodies in the field.

Their replies, and those of any other interested parties,

will be examined and collated before the committee makes its recommendations in its final report, which is expected early next year.

An offender is usually described as dangerous if there is a substantial probability of his committing a further offence involving grave harm, the committee says. But what is "grave harm"? Some might argue, for example, that widespread "mugging" causing minor personal injuries is more serious than domestic violence causing grievous bodily harm.

A serious offence, the committee says, does not make a dangerous offender unless there is a likelihood that it will be repeated despite the usual precautions provided by the law. But by what method is that likelihood to be judged?

The Dangerous Offender, a Consultative Document, (Free from The Secretary, Institute of Criminology, 7 West Road, Cambridge).

Giving more say to parents and teachers

By Mark Jackson, of The Times Educational Supplement

The Inner London Education Authority is to double the representation of parents and teachers on its school governing bodies.

The authority, which has been under pressure to increase participation since the William Tyndale school inquiry, has decided it can no longer wait for the recommendations of the Taylor Committee on school government throughout the system.

Mr Kenneth Livingstone, a member of ILEA's Labour majority, said during the week-end that the decision, which will mean two parents and two teacher representatives on each body, was one of a number of changes being introduced after criticisms in the inquiry's report. Arrangements have also been made for ILEA members in each division to meet regularly with officers to discuss their local schools.

Mr Livingstone said: "Something has to be done, because the Tyndale affair has shattered many of the channels of informal communication that existed previously. People are afraid now to tell you anything in case they should be forced to justify it publicly years later."

The authority is also taking steps to improve communication and supervision within its administration. A divisional inspector is being appointed in each of the 10 divisions.

The changes do much to pre-empt suggestions for reform made in a pamphlet on the William Tyndale School affair, issued by the Conservative Political Office this weekend.

The pamphlet, written by a former member of the staff of the journal of the National Union of Teachers, says that most schools are working satisfactorily and that teachers are entitled to every support, but that local authorities need to be able to detect and correct potential failures in the system.

The Lessons of Tyndale by Paul Williams (Conservative Political Centre, 40p).

NHS doctors should be put on salaries, TUC says

By Our Health Services Correspondent

Everyone in the National Health Service, including family doctors, dentists and opticians, should be employed on a salary basis, the Trades Union Congress says.

In its 20,000-word memorandum of evidence to the royal commission on the service,

published today, the TUC accepts that there are considerable difficulties which make an immediate and complete change impossible. But the principle should be established, positive inducement should be offered to effect the change and new staff should be employed on the new basis.

The congress believes that

the medical profession would come to accept that its working conditions would be improved with more clearly defined hours, equitable sharing of work, and better arrangements for providing cover at all times.

One of the strongest arguments put forward for a salaried service is that it would correct the distorted distribution of

general practitioners.

The TUC says it seeks to create a more egalitarian doctor-patient relationship. It does not want to dilute skill or training, or to deny the importance of leadership. But the hierarchical structures which separate health workers and patients weaken the effectiveness of health care.



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WEST EUROPE

Heavier polling raises Chirac chances in second French ballot

From Charles Hargrove
Paris, March 20

M. Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist leader, appeared highly likely to be elected Mayor of Paris as France went to the polls today in the second round of its municipal elections.

Officials reported that in spite of rainy weather 2 per cent more people had voted by midday compared with last week's first ballot.

The second ballot will bring a decision in 64 towns and cities including Lille, Marseilles, Toulouse, Nice and Rennes. In the remaining 158 the outcome will be decided by the first ballot, in which the Union of the Left gained 32 towns from the government majority and lost three to it.

On the basis of last Sunday's score, there had been little doubt that the majority would hold the capital—thanks to its belatedly patched-up unity—and that the left would consolidate its advance by conquering another 15 to 20 of the larger towns from the right.

A great deal turned today on the "marginal" voters—the ecologists, the "Jobertists", and even the extreme left in some cases, whose weight tipped the scales in Nice and St Etienne, and in the process decided the fate of several ministers who stood for reelection as mayors.

Traditionally the two-ballot system, a typically French invention, is designed to enable the voters to give free reign to their preferences in the first poll. When the mechanism of withdrawals and eliminations has done its work, they are then able to stop the candidates they oppose in the second ballot. As a result, a political trend is sometimes reversed in the second ballot. This was the case in the parliamentary elections of 1973, when the majority, which had swept the board on the first poll, found itself with a gain of only one parliamentary seat the following week.

This time, the Government majority hoped, without being excessively sanguine about it, that the same would happen in the municipals, and that the

spectacular gains of the left would be checked. But arithmetically, this seemed unlikely, for in most of the remaining larger towns where run-off ballots were being held, the Government majority was defending seats rather than trying to win new ones.

Besides, last Sunday's first ballot has proved that the Communists, allied to the dominant Socialists, no longer frighten away the middle-of-the-road voter, even in such traditional conservative strongholds as the West. And another reason why a reversal of trends was unlikely is that these elections were after all municipal contests not a national test. The voters could vent their discontent with austerity, the Barre plan and the divisions of the majority, in the full knowledge that they were not choosing in exactly one year's time, in the parliamentary elections of 1978.

One thing, however, is practically ruled out after today's poll. That is the dissolution of Parliament before it has run its full course. However difficult cohabitation will be in the government majority in coming months between Giscardians and Gaullists, it will be preferable to joint suicide at the polls.

Had M. Chirac lost his gamble on Paris, he would have had to compensate for this by making life impossible for the Government. Now he can concentrate on consolidating his position in the majority and in the country from the power base that Paris will give him.

However, the parliamentary election campaign has in fact already begun. M. Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, editor-in-chief of the new magazine *L'Express*, goes even further. France, he says, now finds herself again in 1788, the year before the Revolution.

"In 1788", he says, "it was still not too late to save France from the violence and the ill-fated cascade of coups d'état which succeeded one another for nearly a century."

Priest ready to sit outside Barcelona jail until last political prisoner is freed

Father Xirinacs keeps vigil despite amnesty

From William Chislett
Barcelona, March 20

"I am tired, my nerves are in shreds, and I am dying to take a holiday", said Father Luis Maria Xirinacs in front of Barcelona's Model Prison, where he has been mounting a daily 12-hour vigil for the past 15 months in favour of a total amnesty.

He says the Suarez Government's recent announcement of an amnesty is in theory a great improvement on previous "amnesties" but he will not give up his vigil until all political prisoners are released, including those condemned for politically motivated crimes of violence.

While we talked, seated on newspapers with our backs against the wall facing the prison where Father Xirinacs says there are 40 political prisoners, passers-by greeted him, others joined him, and a few cars sounded their horns. Most of the prisoners are alleged members of ETA, the Basque separatist organization, awaiting trial.

Father Xirinacs, a 44-year-old worker priest, began his vigil on Christmas Day, 1975, a month after the death of General Franco. At first police



Father Xirinacs outside Barcelona's Model Prison. Police and right-wingers now leave him alone.

used to pick him up and dump him outside Barcelona. Members of extreme right-wing organizations would frequently insult him and beat him up. Father Xirinacs always returned to the prison and bore the verbal and physical attacks with hardly a murmur of protest. Now the police leave him

alone and the "so-called uncontrollable elements", as Father Xirinacs calls the right-wingers, "have been controlled". The police bother him now only when he takes part in pro-amnesty demonstrations. In the past 15 months he has left his place of vigil only five times, to take part in demonstrations.

While we were talking Josefa Gallud, a friend, joined us. She showed me the 21 stitches in her head put in after riot police hit her with truncheons in a demonstration at Montjuich on March 13. When she joined us she had just come from denouncing the police to magistrates and was carrying a medical certificate.

A little later, the father of one of the prisoners in the Model Prison arrived, anxious to ask Father Xirinacs if he had heard anything about his son, who he had just come from.

The father comes every day to the prison in the hope that when the text of the amnesty is published, his son will be released. Father Xirinacs leaves his vigil for 20 minutes every day for lunch in a bar near by. He declined to let me buy him a drink, adding that he has lunch only because his doctor says he must. Father Xirinacs has held four hunger strikes, the longest one for 42 days in 1974, and he is determined not to give up until "the dictatorship is over". He added: "The Government believes that the dictatorship referendum. But it has not, and will not do so, until we have a real amnesty."

300 hurt in German nuclear protest

From Dan van der Vat
Bonn, March 20

More than 300 people were injured at the weekend in West Germany's most violent demonstration against nuclear power stations.

The clash came after a peaceful start to a protest by about 12,000 people outside the site of an atomic power plant at Grohnde, near Hameln, Lower Saxony. It was guarded by 5,000 police.

The demonstrators were waving flowers and exchanging jokes with police officers when the atmosphere deteriorated suddenly, with members of extreme left-wing groups armed with wire cutters, grappling

hooks, and even oxy-acetylene equipment, launching an assault on the wire perimeter fence. They tore down long stretches of it and in the ensuing battle 237 officers were injured, 55 needing hospital treatment. A handful are still being detained for further observation.

About 80 demonstrators were hurt, of whom 20 were taken to hospital. The police arrested 26. There have been several much larger demonstrations recently against nuclear power plants, but yesterday's protest was the worst in terms of bitterness and violence.

A minority among the demonstrators were equipped on a scale matched only by the more extreme demonstrations in Japan in recent years. They

had helmets, goggles, sticks, iron bars, and catapults with which they fired ball bearings at the police.

The majority were peaceful and representative of the genuine and widespread groundswell of hostile opinion in West Germany against the Government's commitment to substituting nuclear energy as far as possible for power derived from oil.

Last week's court ruling against the construction of a nuclear power station in southwestern Germany has clearly failed to make the protest movement lower its guard. The problem for the authorities is how to deal with the fanatic fringe seeking to exploit this civic unease.

New moves to save Italian government

From Peter Nichols
Rome, March 20

Signor Andreotti, the Italian Prime Minister, tomorrow begins an intricate operation intended to save his minority Christian Democrat administration, which depends on Communist cooperation.

He is making use of the double-edged weapon of the conditions laid down by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the granting of standby credits.

These conditions are one of a number of issues now coming to a head after a surprisingly tranquil political situation since the election last June which gave the Communists sufficient backing to claim a share in policy-making even if they remained outside the actual Government.

The real drama of the week will be played by the spectacle of Signor Andreotti and the Communist Party leader, Signor Enrico Berlinguer, in a conflict which is as much over their relationships with their own parties as with each other.

Signor Andreotti intends to put before all the leaders of the parties supporting his Government the IMF conditions in the form that he says they were laid down in the draft letter of intent. He maintains that the IMF negotiators insist on approval for two proposals in the Government's plan for curbing labour costs and inflation which will be put before the Senate on Wednesday.

The two points concern the removal of indirect taxation from the threshold agreement tied to the cost of living index, and curbs on wage negotiations at factory level. Both these measures are opposed by the unions and by the Communists.

Dispute puts future of Danish paper at risk

From Geoffrey Dodd
Copenhagen, March 20

Doubts are growing in Copenhagen as to whether the 228-year-old *Bertelsklokker* can make a successful comeback and resume its role as Denmark's leading newspaper. The conflict which has stopped the newspaper's publication entered its eighth week today.

The printing staff insist upon negotiations before returning to work while the management wants production to restart before negotiating on new conditions for the printing staff.

There is no contact between the two sides and the printing staff do not expect the newspaper to publish again until April or even later. Mr. Olaf Poulsen, the general manager of the newspaper, is not prepared to make any guesses on the subject.

The unions are confident that the newspaper will quickly pick up its old status when printing resumes. But Mr. Poulsen refuses to comment on the newspaper's future or give details of a survey conducted by Gallup recently to determine how much circulation and advertising revenue has been lost so far.

Both the management and the unions have stated repeatedly that they want to restart work but their standpoints have not changed. The unions are expected to be ordered to pay a stiff fine when a labour court rules on the conflict for the second time in the coming week.

The *Bertelsklokker* deadlock has also stopped the mass circulation newspaper *BT*, the weekly news magazine *Bertelsklokker* and two popular family magazines *Søndergaard* and *Billed-Bladet*. Its foundation was laid in 1560. In the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s the management signed an agreement with the printing staff to introduce an extra shift to cope with the growing volume of advertising.

This increased the wage bill but avoided the immediate need to buy expensive equipment. It also gave printers at *Bertelsklokker* wages at least 1,000 kroner higher elsewhere. Competing newspapers had to follow suit and commercial printers had difficulty in keeping staff. The

result was a general increase in pay scales for printing workers.

When the recession came *Bertelsklokker* found itself overmanned and using outdated and uneconomical printing equipment. The management attempted to revoke the most expensive section of the special house contracts. When publication stopped on January 30, printing wages were about £13,000 a year for some 1,600 hours, about one-third of what was being paid for but not worked.

If the *Bertelsklokker* proposals are accepted, Mr. Poulsen says the wage rates will be reduced by about one-tenth. Mr. Poulsen also considers the campaign waged by the printing union to undermine the labour court system as unacceptable.

The unions agree that the conflict is unlawful but they do not intend to change their attitude because they see the labour court as an instrument of class repression.

In 1960 the management came to us and asked us to assist in formulating an agreement on piecework rates to keep up production", Mr. Ove Nielsen, of the *Bertelsklokker* typographers' chapter, said. "This system has been in operation for 15 years but the management now wants to end it. We cannot see any reason to suffer a wage cutback just because the newspapers are in difficulty."

We do not intend to go back to the work until, after we have had negotiations with the management. We have asked for negotiations repeatedly since work stopped on January 30 and while we have not had any positive results so far we will not change our standpoint."

Disputes have been frequent at *Bertelsklokker* in recent years and the friction increased when the management announced in January that it expected a heavy loss in 1977. It is, the management wished to change work procedures and hinted that up to 300 of the 1,000 printing staff would probably have to be laid off.

This announcement was not accepted as reasonable by the unions. It set off a campaign of deliberate obstruction in the printing works which caused the management to send the printing staff home.

Breton bomb blast as seven go on trial

Rennes, March 20.—Breton nationalists today caused a bomb to go off in the electricity board headquarters in Rennes, the Brittany capital, causing serious damage but no injuries.

The outlawed Breton Liberation Front (FLB) claimed responsibility for the blast, which came on the eve of the trial of seven Breton nationalists accused of nationalist outrages.

An FLB message said the building had been attacked because it was "a symbol of French occupation in Brittany."

It was the seventh FLB attack this year. Other targets included a television licensing centre, local government buildings and a police car park—*Reuters*.

Princess Beatrix to visit Japan in May

Tokyo, March 20.—Princess Beatrix of The Netherlands and her husband, Prince Claus, will visit Japan in May, it was announced today.—*Reuters*.

Football official kidnapped by gang in Turin

Rome, March 20.—Armed men kidnapped the 71-year-old vice-president of Italy's reigning champions, Torino, in Turin last night, police said today.

The four masked kidnappers forced Signor Giuseppe Navone into a car outside a cinema and drove off at speed. A leading building contractor, he has been Torino's vice-president for 10 years.

Meanwhile, an industrialist kidnapped on February 14 was set free early today after his family reportedly paid 1,000 lire (£660,000) ransom.

Signor Carlo Colombo was abducted by three masked and armed men in a bar.—*Reuters* and AP.

Six killed in Turkish railway collision

Istanbul, March 20.—Six people were killed and six injured in a goods train collision early today near Bilecik, about 165 miles south-east of here.

Luxembourg backs Spanish EEC entry

From Our Correspondent
Madrid, March 20

Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, said here yesterday that he hoped Spain would soon join the EEC. Speaking on his arrival at Madrid's airport, he said: "I will be very happy the day that everything is right for Spain to join."

He added: "Naturally I speak for myself and not in the name of all the members of the EEC, but I do think this is a general opinion."

Mr. Thorn's visit was in connection with a congress being held here this weekend by the Liberal International. Arranged by Spanish Liberal parties, it is being attended by many prominent foreign politicians, including Mr. Richard Moore, British president of the Liberal International, and Signor Giovanni Malagodi, president of the Italian Liberal Party.

Mr. Moore, speaking in English, told the congress that Liberalism was not a thing of the past.

Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, flew in for the congress but was unable to stay because of the political situation in West Germany. In a message read to the congress on his behalf, Herr Genscher said Spain could count on the support of German Liberals in its attempt to join the Community.

Before leaving Herr Genscher spent an hour with Señor Suarez, the Spanish Prime Minister, and lunch with Señor Marcelino Oreja, the Foreign Minister. Just before his departure he called on King Juan Carlos, with whom he presumably discussed the King's proposed visit to West Germany next month.

A message from Mr. Trudeau,

the Canadian Prime Minister, was also read to the congress, in which he said: "Our admiration for the Spaniards in their efforts for democratic freedom is unlimited."

Another letter read to the estimated 2,000 attendees at the opening session was from the dissident, Miss Adonia Alexeyeva, who referred to civil rights as "the only guarantee of peace in the world."

The state-run Spanish television network, which is dominated by conservatives, broadcast to the capital a 20-minute interview last night with Señor Felipe Gonzalez, secretary-general of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE). The network had made its first important concession to the left earlier in the week by transmitting an interview with Señor Enrique Tierno Galvan, president of the Popular Socialist Party.

Export council crisis over lack of funds

The British Agricultural Export Council was born of much of its strength on Friday when attempts failed to double its budget to £150,000. Members who attended an extraordinary meeting of the council at the London headquarters of the Royal Agricultural Society decided to form a committee to tell them what to do next.

Lord Glenkings, chairman of the council, announced his resignation. He said: "It is four years' hard work down the drain. It is so bloody silly, it is unbelievable. He added later: "I do not believe this is now a viable operation."

Mr. Dean Swift, deputy chairman of the council, said that he would resign as well. He quoted a passage which appeared in this column in March and described the key role held by the British Agricultural Council in the fate of the export council.

It expressed the suspicion that the agricultural council might seek the demise of the export council by offering to insure its members so as to become the national export promoter itself. "That I found extremely valid", Mr. Swift said.

The British Agricultural Council is an association of farming unions, landowners' lobbies, marketing boards and cooperative groups of which little is heard. Mr. Richard Butler, deputy president of the National Farmers' Union, is chairman of the council's "continuity group".

Agriculture

Hugh Clayton

He was present at last Friday's meeting. He had been sent a copy of a letter which Lord Glenkings wrote to Sir Henry Plumb, president of the NFU, last Thursday.

Lord Glenkings told Sir Henry that the export council had been assured about money which would give it the income pre-arranged for the coming year as long as the Government and the farming industry paid their shares. The industry was represented in that instance by the British Agricultural Corporation.

He told reporters after the meeting that difficulties had arisen because some of the assurances given by his council to be secure for the coming year would be derived from charges for services and not subscriptions. "I was told at one o'clock by Richard Butler that as he has not got £70,000

through straight subscriptions, we were to get nothing."

A statement about finding a doubled budget for the export council was issued by Mr. Butler in mid-February. It said: "The BAC said that £33,000 of this money would be contributed by the farming industry provided that both the ancillary industries and the Government contributed similar sums."

The balance of the proposed budget would be contributed by members' subscriptions to the British Agricultural Export Council, and by fees charged for work done. "The balance of the proposed budget would be contributed by members' subscriptions to the British Agricultural Export Council, and by fees charged for work done."

"With ECGD insurance, our overseas stocks are well covered."

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Peter Prateley is Managing Director of the Home & Garden Equipment Division of Birmid Qualcast Ltd. at Derby.

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مكتبة الأصيل

OVERSEAS

Karachi under curfew after 35 die in weekend of rioting

From Hassan Akhtar
Rawalpindi, March 20

Curfew was reimposed this afternoon for an indefinite period on two districts of Karachi, the mainly industrial labour centres which were the scene of violent rioting and clashes with police yesterday. The curfew was lifted for four hours after midnight today to allow people to do essential shopping and attend to necessary domestic chores.

The Army took control of the west and east districts of Karachi yesterday when the civil administration was unable to cope with the arson and violence. On Friday and Saturday about 35 people were reported dead in police firings and factional killings.

Several deaths were also reported from Hyderabad, 120 miles from Karachi in the interior of Sindh province.

The Government has now arrested most members of the central committee of the Pakistan National Alliance of nine opposition parties which

organized the civil disobedience movement after their defeat in the national elections of March 7. They include Air Marshal Asghar Khan; Professor Ghafur Ahmad, secretary general of the alliance; and Professor Azam Faruqi. Begum Wali Khan was also reported to be arrested but the official list does not include her name. All these opposition leaders won seats in the National Assembly in the elections.

Press reports from Karachi and other troubled centres are reported to be subject to government censorship but the Army, using armoured cars and tanks, is said to have moved into several towns. There have been further reports of attempts to break the curfew restrictions being failed by troops and police have used tear gas in dispersing public demonstrations in different parts of Pakistan.

Educational institutions have been closed for an indefinite period and school and college examinations due this month have been put off.

U S customs seize 300 antique objects

From Norman Hammond
San Francisco, March 20

One of the largest hauls of smuggled pre-Columbian American antiquities ever seized by the United States customs has been identified this week in San Francisco. The material is believed to have been stolen from museums and private collections, rather than recently looted from archaeological sites.

More than 300 objects have been seized, mostly pottery vessels and figurines, but also some stone statues, and a number of fakes. It is these forgeries, as well as the fact that some of the pieces have been expertly mended, that suggest robbery from museums rather than looting.

Professor Karen Bruhns, of San Francisco State University, an expert on ancient Central and South American archaeology, who was called in by customs to identify the material, said today: "Much of the collection is of very high quality, and the objects seem to have been specially selected."

The bulk of the material originated in Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama, although other objects came from as far apart as Peru, and the west coast of Mexico.

The stone statues are of Nicaraguan and Costa Rican types and three jade necklaces are also believed to be from Costa Rica.

The antiquities were seized in Placerville, northern California, 150 miles north-east of San Francisco, after several days surveillance by customs agents. It is an offence to import archaeological material from a number of countries in Latin America with which the United States has treaties.

Customs suspect a further offence, as the collection contains the skin of an ocelot, a member of the jaguar family, which, as an endangered species is protected from commercial exploitation.

Shah pardons 653

Teheran, March 20.—The Shah of Iran has pardoned 653 prisoners, including 91 convicted of anti-state activities, to mark the Persian New Year today.—Reuter.

Germans resist US over atom deal

By Pearce Wright
Science Correspondent

The West Germany industry is fiercely resisting pressure from the United States to rescind a contract to build a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Brazil as part of an arrangement that also includes construction of a group of nuclear power stations.

The Germans are rejecting accusations that they are putting weapons technology at the disposal of the Brazilians. In fact they accuse the Americans of misinterpreting the non-proliferation controls of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

This response to talks between West Germany and the United States is outlined in a briefing document from Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, the recently formed trade association of German nuclear firms.

Indeed, a rebuke is offered to the United States for trying to restrict the number of countries with access to nuclear fuel reprocessing.

The Germans argue that countries like Brazil possess all the technical means of developing nuclear weapons on their own if they so wish.

The intention to limit the number of countries with reprocessing installations they consider to be contrary to the aim of the non-proliferation treaty, which allows countries to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. This provision does not exclude the technology for reprocessing.

With 14 states already having reprocessing technology and reprocessing plants of one size or another at their disposal they argue that the form of nuclear development does not involve any widening of the nuclear weapons race.

Discipline in school praised by Prince

Accra, March 20.—The Prince of Wales said here that one of the main priorities of a civilized education should be the development of a sense of discipline. The need for corporate discipline and the restriction of individual liberty by the state would be correspondingly reduced if as many human beings as possible could achieve this self-awareness during their education," he said.

Prince Charles was speaking at a banquet organized by former students of Achimota School to mark its golden jubilee celebration. The Prince arrived in Ghana on Thursday for an eight-day visit. He conferred on Friday with General Acheampong, the Head of State, and later attended Achimota School's grand assembly.—Reuter.

Argentine confirms his bid for Falklands company

From Andrew Tarnowski
Buenos Aires, March 20

The leader of a powerful Argentine business group, reported here 17 days ago to be negotiating for the purchase of the Falkland Islands Company, today reiterated that negotiations were under way at the highest company level.

Senior Hector Francisco Capozzolo, aged 54, made the confirmation in an advertisement published in newspapers here. It said that "responsible negotiations at the highest company level, absolutely private," were under way at this moment. But, it added, irresponsible rumours and allegations could endanger success.

Senior Capozzolo heads the Arbol Solo group, which has interests in banks, steel plants, an oil refinery and extensive cattle ranches. Among them

are the former properties of Bovril Argentina, which he bought from Charrington Industrial Holdings, the British group controlling the Falkland Islands Company.

The weekly news magazine *Somos* reported that Señor Capozzolo has recently been in London.

"According to all those consulted it is possible to complete the purchase," the magazine said. "The British Government, obviously, is not going to say yes immediately because of a question of principles. But the Shackleton report was disastrous for the pretensions of the Falkland Islands Company to exploit the island's resources eternally."

The first report of Señor Capozzolo's bid, published here on March 3, brought a denial from the company in London.

Antarctic cooperation threatened

By Marcel Berlins

Antarctica is in danger of losing its enviable status as one of the few areas of the world free from political dispute. The carefully nurtured spirit of international cooperation which has existed until now is in jeopardy, because of the growing awareness that the continent, which is one and a half times the size of Europe, possesses economically exploitable resources.

Last week the 12 countries who signed the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 met in London to prepare for what may be the most important conference on the Antarctic since the treaty came into force. It will be held in September, in London.

The conference, the ninth biennial meeting of the 12 treaty powers, will be held in private, as have all the others, even the agenda being made public. It is crucial, however, that an attempt will be made to reach agreement on

the principles which would govern exploration and exploitation, especially of oil and fishing.

Although no exploration for oil has yet taken place, all the scientific indications point to there being vast offshore fields.

The krill is of even greater potential significance. A tiny, shrimp-like crustacean, it is exceptionally rich in protein. Ten krills have as much protein as 1 lb of steak. The most conservative estimate suggests that at least 50 million tonnes of krill can be fished annually without dangerously depleting the stock. The total catch of all fish in the world in 1974 was only 100 million tonnes—about 60 million tonnes.

On lead, the Russians are reported as having found a "mountain" of iron ore in one area, and indications that iron ore exists in others. The presence of other valuable minerals is also likely, according to scientists, and traces of some have been found.

All this has introduced a new dimension into the sensitive relationship between the 12 and has reawakened considerations of territorial jurisdiction.

Seven of the 12 (Britain, Australia, New Zealand, France, Norway, Argentina and Chile) have territorial claims to slices of the Antarctic. The 1959 treaty froze those claims for 30 years. The British, Argentine and Chilean claims overlap to a large extent, and are an obvious source of possible future political conflict.

The other five states (United States, Russia, Japan, South Africa and Belgium) have no claims of their own, and do not recognize those of others.

The resources of Antarctica are attracting growing interest, particularly in the Third World, where it is argued that Antarctica forms part of the "common heritage of mankind" and the benefits from it should be shared by all, with concentration on the poorer countries.

Australian race driver dies from injuries

Melbourne, March 20.—Max Stewart, an Australian racing driver, died early today from injuries received yesterday at the Calder raceway, a hospital spokesman said.

Stewart suffered head and body injuries when his Lola T400 crashed into the rear of a car driven by Vern Schuppan, another Australian, during practice for today's Formula 5000 race. Schuppan was not hurt but rescue teams took 20 minutes to free Stewart from his wrecked car.

According to race officials, Stewart, a three-time winner of the Australian Grand Prix was driving at about 95 mph and Schuppan was pulling up at the time.—Reuter.

Record haul of heroin

Penang, March 20.—Malaysian customs officials have seized a record haul of heroin worth about £1,500,000 in a raid on a pineapple plantation. They found three sacks of the drug totalling 133 lbs.—Reuter.

Hongkong scorns Taiwan plea on refugees

From Our Correspondent
Hongkong, March 20

The Hongkong authorities dismiss as futile a telegram to Dr Owen, the Foreign Secretary, by the Taiwan Free China Relief Association asking him to "stop immediately the return of Chinese refugees to the mainland."

The colony's controversial decision in late 1974 to return forcibly to China illegal immigrants, including the so-called "freedom-swimmers", was made after consultation between Hongkong and Whitehall and was welcomed by Peking. No one here believes there is the slightest prospect of any reversal.

In any event, the new Taiwan approach is regarded as hypocritical because the Chinese Nationalist authorities have always been reluctant to let in illegal immigrants who wished to return to Taiwan after being accepted in Hongkong.

Last year, when Peking released to Hongkong 10 former

Kuomintang generals after long imprisonment in China, most of them expected to proceed to Taiwan to rejoin their families, but all were refused admission. One Nationalist general hanged himself in Hongkong. Others returned sadly to China.

Hongkong still makes exceptions on humanitarian grounds. One last week was for a woman who managed to cross the border to rejoin her husband who had himself entered the colony illegally when Hongkong was still a sanctuary.

Hongkong has returned 2,174 freedom swimmers to China since the ban on illegal immigrants was imposed.

Reciprocity unofficially, China has begun to restrict visas for people wanting to enter Hongkong legally, mostly elderly people, known as "less mouths", who were becoming a burden on Hongkong's housing and social services. More than 33,000 arrived legally in 1974; 26,000 in 1975, but less than 21,000 last year.



Dr Castro receives a spear, a traditional African gift to a warrior, during his visit to an agricultural school in Tanzania. President Nyerere is on the right in the white hat.

Dr Castro's helping hand wins African hearts

From Nicholas Ashford
Dar es Salaam, March 20

The day was so hot that the perspiration dripped from the peak of Dr Fidel Castro's forage cap as he spoke to a group of Tanzanian national servicemen and Cuban technicians at an agricultural school.

"We are poor, but Tanzania is poorer", the Cuban Prime Minister told his audience. "We would like to help you more but we cannot because our resources are preoccupied in Angola."

Dr Castro, dressed in army fatigues with a pistol at his hip, had arrived earlier in the morning at Ruva agricultural school to inspect part of Cuba's aid programme to Tanzania. He chatted with Cuban construction workers and doctors, toured the almost completed building, and then sat down for yet another exhibition of tribal dancing.

Cuba is building three such agricultural schools in Tanzania, reportedly at a cost of £1,600,000 each. Its aid programme to Tanzania also in-

cludes 50 Cuban doctors, a cattle artificial insemination scheme and a projected sugar plantation. Some Western diplomats claim there are 200 Cuban military advisers in the country, although this is denied by the Tanzanians.

Cuba's programme is modest compared with those of many other countries which are helping Tanzania, but it is the one which the Tanzanians appreciate most. "Cuba is a very close friend", an official spokesman said. "It is a small Third World country, but it has done everything possible to aid our development."

Relations between the two countries, which have been cordial for a number of years, were consolidated during a visit to Havana by President Nyerere in 1974. Since then the role of Cuban troops in the Angolan conflict has transitive Dr Castro into a hero in Tanzanian eyes.

Tanzania's relationship with Cuba is markedly different to the one it has with the Soviet Union whose President, Mr

Podgorny, is arriving on Tuesday at the start of an African tour which will also take in Zambia and Mozambique.

Whereas Cuba is portrayed as the poor but honest friend, the Soviet Union is seen, as a large, powerful nation whose main interests in this part of the world are in outmanoeuvring the Americans and the Chinese.

While Cuba is prepared to share what little it has, the Soviet Union's aid to Tanzania has so far been almost negligible. "They have given us nothing worth talking about", the official spokesman said.

The fact that Dr Castro and President Podgorny will be visiting southern Africa at the same time has inevitably caused palpitations in Salisbury and Cape Town. Their arrival is seen as the beginning of a communist-backed offensive against the white-ruled regimes in the south.

However, all the indications are that the visits are coincidental. Dr Castro was touring northern Africa and appears to

have decided only at the last minute to travel southwards. Certainly his programme in Tanzania seems to have been organized very hurriedly.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, announced last year that President Podgorny would be visiting southern Africa in early 1977. Significantly, his tour has not been given much advance publicity in Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique.

While in Tanzania President Podgorny is expected to sign agreements increasing the level of Soviet aid.

Lusaka, March 20.—Dr Castro will visit Zambia during his African tour, a government spokesman announced today. Informed sources said the Cuban Prime Minister would have talks with President Kaunda and was likely to meet leaders of the Rhodesian Patriotic Front. Cuban and Zambian flags were flying in the streets of Lusaka today.—Agence France-Press.

Black man's burden, page 14

Equality for all aim of new party in Pretoria

Cape Town, March 20.—Two opposition political parties last night said they intended to form a new party on the basis of equal rights for all racial groups in South Africa.

A joint declaration was issued by Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party, and Mr Theo Gardener, of the tiny Democratic Party. The United Party is the biggest opposition group in the House of Assembly.

The declaration's list of priorities includes: The immediate repeal of laws and administrative measures which discriminate against communities on the basis of race and colour; the extension to all citizens of full civil and political rights; the establishment of equal pay for equal work.

Previous plans to unite the white opposition parties in South Africa foundered last month over whether the country should ultimately be ruled by its black majority.

The United and Democratic parties were then involved in talks with the liberal-leaning Progressive Reform Party (PRP). Informed sources said at the time that while the PRP supported a concept of blacks and whites sharing power at all levels, the United Party wanted a built-in guarantee against black majority rule.

The declaration issued last night said: "Practically, all citizens will share a common loyalty to South Africa, have equitable and responsible participation in decision-making and be safeguarded against domination of any group by another group."—Reuter.

Johannesburg, March 20.—The Very Rev T. S. Farisani, a leading black churchman and former president of the militant Black People's Convention, has been detained by security police, the *Weekend World* newspaper reported today. A dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, he was reportedly arrested after a morning church service. Books and files were seized.—Agence France-Press.

Companies Act 1976

Some important dates to remember

The Companies Act 1976 (No. 10) came into force on 1st April 1976. It contains provisions relating to the accounts of companies, the management of companies, and the powers of the Secretary of State.

Some of the provisions are of particular importance to companies and their directors. These are set out in the following table:

Section	Provision	Effective Date
Section 1	Accounts of companies	1st April 1976
Section 2	Management of companies	1st April 1976
Section 3	Powers of the Secretary of State	1st April 1976
Section 4	Accounts of companies	1st April 1976
Section 5	Management of companies	1st April 1976
Section 6	Powers of the Secretary of State	1st April 1976
Section 7	Accounts of companies	1st April 1976
Section 8	Management of companies	1st April 1976
Section 9	Powers of the Secretary of State	1st April 1976
Section 10	Accounts of companies	1st April 1976
Section 11	Management of companies	1st April 1976
Section 12	Powers of the Secretary of State	1st April 1976

The Companies Act 1976 will be of particular importance to companies and their directors. It contains provisions relating to the accounts of companies, the management of companies, and the powers of the Secretary of State.

For more information, please contact the Department of Trade.

ENTERTAINMENTS

When telephoning use prefix of 011-222-2222 London Metropolitan Area.

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THE ARTS

Collegium Musicum
of London/Helmy
St Pancras Church

Stanley Sadie

The Resurrection is not, on the face of it, a specially promising topic for a full-length oratorio. The mood and emotions to which its story gives rise are too direct and too few: it is likely to begin with mournful music, and soon to shift to triumph.

In fact, however, C. P. E. Bach's *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (1777-78), given on Saturday during the opening weekend of the Camden Festival, largely overcomes this particular limitation because of the ingenious mixture of the narrative (with disquisitions on biblical events) and contemplative inherent in C. P. E. Bach's text. True, the second half is weakened by what is in danger of seeming like a procession of triumphal choruses, but in a sense this is significant more because it represents the involvement of the chorus than because it is a part of the plot. It is, in fact, enlightening to compare the Lutheran north German oratorio, where the chorus is so central, with its Italian and south German counterpart, the Metastasio, opera-like, moralising oratorio (such as those of the young Haydn and Mozart), which was largely a series of arias with minimal choral participation: the composer focuses rather neatly some of the differences between Catholic and northern attitudes to music and worship at the time.

The CPE Bach work, predictably, is at its most impressive when dealing with the more sombre emotions, where his yearning appoggiaturas have fullest scope. There is a dark, austere little introduction to each half: a beautiful supplicatory chorus at the beginning; some vivid descriptions of ravines and several impassioned solo numbers, among them an appealing chromatic soprano aria, and a vigorous and dramatic bass one, typically enclosing a contrasting middle section. There is another lively aria with bassoon obbligato; most of the choruses are plainly written against brilliant rushing strings and resounding trumpets, but the dutiful fugues that end each half are as effective, impressive, though less as elsewhere the musical continuity is not always strong.

Lassio Helmy directed a fine performance, perhaps a shade slow and inflexible in the recitative, but otherwise excellently judged, and the choral and instrumental playing had splendid freshness, accuracy and ring. Meryl Drower sang the soprano music with charm and feeling, and Nigel Rogers the tenor part with his customary precision and style, even if he was not quite as convincing in some of the more technically demanding passages. Cook sang the baritone music really beautifully, clean and rich in tone, strong and natural in expression.

ART GALLERIES

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A great Japanese artist

Kitagawa Utamaro
Wildenstein Gallery

William Gaunt

An outstanding event of the winter season in Paris, the loan exhibition of prints and illustrated books by the great Japanese artist of the Ukiyo-e school, Kitagawa Utamaro, is now to be seen in London at the Wildenstein Gallery. Organized by Huguette Beres, this choice of more than a hundred works from both public and private collections, admirably presented, may well give the present-day spectator some reason of the sensation of excitement and discovery felt by the French artists and connoisseurs of the last century when the prints of Utamaro first swam into their ken.

The subjects are mainly of love, pensive, sad or narcissistic, reflective of courtly life in all their elegant of attitude and refinement of costume. Immediately striking are the many "large head" beauties, close-ups that for all their similarity in feature and facial type show the artist's infinite resource in design. Black for Utamaro was never a dull negative of colour; the black of hair and headdress arrests the eye with varied silhouettes, the more brilliant for their contrast with delicate lines of line and restrained colour. There is a poetic symbolism in the carotides accompanying the portraits of tea-house hostesses, containing some reference to place or mood. Masters of detail, the artist's design appears in the figure groups and there is a certain humour in the parody of a traitor's history that includes the likeness of Utamaro himself discovered in hiding in a rearing horse's mane, from the Edo Museum.

At the same time Utamaro's



Sadness of Lovers.

eye was observant of nature in many forms and exquisite proportions of detail, such as of insects, of seashells, of birds. As well as the fineness of delineation these rare books employed to the full the resources of the woodcut and wood block printing, in the

happiest of conjunctions of art and craft. A catalogue of book proportions, sketches and illustrations, the prima, an introduction by Jack Hitter giving a second look at Utamaro as one of the few artists who belong both to East and West. The exhibition continues until April 6.

The grandeur that was Lully

Alceste
Sadler's Wells

Thomas Walker
Lully's *Alceste*, of 1673, had to wait more than three hundred years for its first performance on a London stage. The move of William Chappell's production, given at the London Opera Centre in December, 1975, to Sadler's Wells, augurs well one hopes, for more frequent revivals.

The original grandeur of *Alceste* would not have escaped the French court nor, perhaps more to the point, ambassadors of foreign countries, it is particularly with the reinforcement of sumptuous staging, elaborate machinery, and costly dance.

The London Opera Centre's budget, of course, permits no such extravagance, and indeed no attempt was made at his-

torical accuracy on the visual level, at least I hope alone was. The singers and dancers were moved about with skill and the pacing was lively. But I think far more of the original nobility might have been evoked with greater simplicity of movement and the avoidance of such grandiose theatricality as the burlesquing of Admetus's aged father Phereas or the use of a four-headed Cerberus.

Most of the large cast handled their roles with assurance and reasonable competence. Claire Powell deserves mention for her smooth and confident Alceste. Rosemary Ashe for her fresh, playful, vocally and otherwise, of Alceste's maid Cepheis.

The power of Lully's music, however, came across most clearly in Lully's brilliant music. Those who should know well that some of his later operas are even more rewarding.

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LOW TAR As defined by H.M. Government

EVERY PACKET CARRIES A GOVERNMENT HEALTH WARNING

Why the Chancellor should be thinking of a £2 billion cut in taxes

In the past two years it has commonly been said that unemployment is necessary if inflation is to be reduced, or that it is beyond the control of policy, or that it is of secondary importance anyway. Our view is that unemployment at its present level is a major evil in itself, that the circumstances which have brought it about make inflation worse not better, and that it can be remedied by Government policies.

The reality of unemployment is evident in most parts of the UK except for a few countries around London. School leavers have no sure prospect of their first job; men and women in the middle of their working life become permanently redundant; older people are forced into premature retirement. The total number of people registered as unemployed in Britain is now about 1.4 million people and probably would be some 200,000 higher but for temporary subsidies and job creation schemes.

Of the total on the register well over half a million have been continuously out of work for more than six months. One quarter of a million are under 20 years old. There is no region of the UK where male unemployment averages less than 5 per cent; it is over 8 per cent in Wales and three regions of England, 10 per cent in Scotland and 12 per cent in Northern Ireland.

The cost of recession on this scale is not only to be measured in terms of frustration and loss of income for those out of work or by insecurity for those in employment. If unemployment had been held down to say three-quarters of a million, the total real national income would be nearly 10 per cent higher than it is; public expenditure cuts would have been unnecessary; industrial capacity and investment would be much higher than they are.

Unemployment has been caused by insufficient foreign demand for British exports and excessive British exports to the rest of the world. These caused the deficit in our bal-

ance of payments which made it impossible to expand home demand and output.

The failure of exports to grow fast enough and the high cost of imports were partly caused by external events. After the rise in world prices of oil and raw materials in 1973 and 1974, a temporary wave of inflation went through the industrial countries. Most other countries (though not the United Kingdom) made the serious mistake of supposing that they could stop the inflation by restrictive fiscal and monetary policies, what they achieved was a slump in world trade and unemployment in their own countries, while unloading a disproportionate share of the collective balance of payments deficit (made necessary by OPEC's surplus) onto the developing countries.

But the stagnation in trade was also caused by the continuing relatively poor performance of British industry in world markets. Devaluation of sterling was expected to produce a large increase in exports and reduce unemployment; instead, devaluation has kept consumer prices rising 15 per cent a year or more without a significant export response so far.

Larger and earlier falls in the exchange rate for sterling would have caused inflation to be even worse than it was; they might well have caused a wage response which would also have rendered them ineffective. Our conclusion is that, in accordance with what we have been saying for several years, the present unemployment, and to some extent the present inflation, are the inevitable consequence of not having already introduced import controls, the case for which should have been strengthened by the restrictive financial policies of other industrial countries.

The evidence, analysed in the Cambridge Economic Policy Review this year and last, does not support the view that inflation has been the

result of excessive growth of the money supply or of excessive public sector deficits, or of excessive growth of demand. In our view inflation is the result of money income claims (in particular wages, taxes, import prices) exceeding the total real income available.

According to this view, inflation has been made worse, not better, by recession since this has reduced output and thereby total real income available for distribution, without reducing income claims by a corresponding amount, if at all. The wage component of inflation has been temporarily reduced by the incomes policy in force since 1975; but the import price component of inflation has been increased by the public sector component has been increased by attempts to cut the PSBR (which meant withdrawal of subsidies and sharp increases in nationalized industry prices).

The pay policy has also created anomalies as serious, or even worse than, those caused by inflation itself. So although the pay policy has generally been adhered to, price inflation has not been reduced much so far; nor, since pay policy has distorted the relationship between wages and salaries to a degree which can only now be corrected by large money pay settlements, is inflation likely to be reduced much in the next year or two.

It is to be hoped that reflection will be undertaken by western governments this year, and that this will be accompanied by stabilization of the price of basic materials at a sufficient level to secure a supply. If the price of raw materials remains too low, recovery of world trade risks shortages and a repetition of the 1973-74 crisis.

The cost to industrial countries of somewhat higher prices for raw materials will be small as compared with the resources that could be generated in a recovery from recession, and trivial as compared with

the income they could gain from sustained industrial growth in future.

But it is unlikely that under existing policies the problem of unemployment in Britain will be solved by world deflation, nor even by North Sea oil, because United Kingdom industry as a whole has neither sufficient capacity nor sufficient competitive power vis-à-vis foreign producers to prevent a very large trade deficit at full employment.

In order to achieve any reduction in unemployment, an unusually fast growth of business output is necessary from now on because the labour supply is rising again for demographic reasons, because the Government's special job creation schemes are only temporary, and because public sector employment is being held down.

Even to keep unemployment constant at its present high level would need a growth rate of 3.4 per cent a year; to get unemployment down well below 1 million probably needs a growth rate of 5 per cent per annum sustained for ten years.

The scale of expansion required is very much larger and more continuous than anything achieved in the past. The main obstacle is that even if the present cost advantage of United Kingdom industry is maintained, our shares of home and world markets are unlikely to be high enough to support the necessary growth of home demand.

In other words, despite rising balance of payments gains from North Sea oil and gas, it seems likely that growth of the British economy at a rate high enough to reduce unemployment will still in future run into balance of payments problems, just as in the past.

This is all the more likely because United Kingdom industries have been damaged by three years of stagnation and low investment, and because other countries may not refrain enough to secure a full recovery of world trade.

Eric Moonman

The black nan's burden which helps to keep Zambia in doubt over its future

A theme which recurs with increasing frequency in Zambia's 25-member National Assembly is criticism of President Kaunda's Government for its excessive concern with external matters, particularly Southern Africa, while too little attention is paid to the country's burgeoning domestic problems.

Backbench MPs from Zambia's sole political party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), who are often remarkably outspoken in their attacks on the Government, have publicly suggested that the country is paying too high a price for its moral principles.

Zambia, they say, has been enough for Zimbabwe Rhodesia and it is now time the country concentrated more on its own interests. One of them even suggested that if Kaunda could continue transporting his goods through Rhodesia then Zambia, which closed its borders with Rhodesia in 1973, should do the same.

President Kaunda and other Zambian leaders have strongly rejected such suggestions. But as the Cabinet attempts to grapple with the country's mounting economic problems there must be some amongst its members who are not so easily satisfied with the additional burden of Rhodesia.

It is however a burden which Zambia will have to carry for the foreseeable future. The collapse of Mr Ivor Richard's mission last month destroyed at least for the moment what ever hopes existed for a negotiated settlement of the talk now in Lusaka is of intensifying the guerrilla war, a war which could eventually spill over the border into Zambia.

However, Rhodesia is not the only, or even the most important cause of Zambia's present economic difficulties (although it often proves to be a useful scapegoat). Although the border closure is said to have cost Zambia about £500m, the benefits would probably only be marginal if it were now suddenly to be reopened, and would certainly not lead to immediate transformation of the country's economic outlook.

For a start, Zambia has developed an extensive communication route, notably the Chinese-built Tazara railway to Dar es Salaam, along which it virtually all its 700,000 tons of copper exports are now being carried. As Zambia's exports usually rise of 200,000 tons, the Chinese will be anxious to reap as much revenue from this line as possible.

And although some of the traffic that is now being carried on the Tazara has been diverted back through Rhodesia if the border reopened, the volume would probably be substantially lower than before the closure. Furthermore, the reopening of the Victoria Falls bridge, the Zambia-bound traffic could bring with it an unwelcome wind of competition for those secondary industries and other commercial operations which have developed in Zambia since the border closure.

Zambia's present difficulties are the result of a number of factors—the general world recession, the closure of the communications link through Rhodesia and Angola, rising defence expenditure, and, most important of all, the ill management of copper resources, which have been compounded by a high degree of mismanagement and general inefficiency in many governmental and para-military organizations.

Zambia's economy has taken a nose dive since the end of 1974, and it is now in a state of "Crisis on the edge of collapse", one western observer commented. The balance of payments, which was once comfortably in surplus, has moved sharply into deficit. The Government has managed to curb the high level of inflation, but the result has been stagnating industrial production and widespread shortages. At the same time inflation is roaring ahead

around 25 per cent and unemployment is rising.

The Government seems at a loss to know what to do next. In June, 1975, President Kaunda lifted the country on a marked socialist course. His most recent pronouncements seem to indicate that he is swinging back to a more centrist position, partly with the aim of encouraging more foreign investment. For the moment Zambia is still getting enough foreign loans to tide it over its immediate difficulties—but at a price.

A combination of food shortages, soaring prices and fewer jobs inevitably creates feelings of resentment. There are signs that discontent is rising and could get worse. Zambians at all levels, both privately and publicly, seem increasingly prepared to criticize the government for its failure to stem the decline.

The degree of discontent should not be exaggerated. The country is not in danger of being overthrown. The state of emergency which was introduced during the student unrest over Zambia's stance during the Angolan civil war last year, is still in existence and could be used to quell any new outburst.

President Kaunda, although he has some of his magic, still stands head and shoulders above any other political leader. And Zambia, for all its problems, remains remarkably stable. The police state trappings which exist in many other African countries. Critics can still make themselves heard without the fear of being locked up.

The real test of the Government's popularity will come with the elections next year, the second to be held since the country became a one-party state. The Government cannot lose because all those critics in the elections must be UNIP members. But President Kaunda could be embarrassed by a low poll. All the indications are that the party has failed to attract widespread support and that in some areas, notably the copper belt, it provokes a degree of hostility.

There is now speculation whether President Kaunda, in an attempt to broaden his political support, will turn to his old adversary, Mr Simon Kapwepwe, a former Vice-President of Zambia. Mr Kapwepwe's United Progressive Party (UPP) was banned in 1972 and he was held in detention for a time. Recently talks were held between him and Mr Aaron Mwaanga, the Interior Minister, but they were inconclusive.

The importance of Mr Kapwepwe is that he is the acknowledged leader of the Bemba, one of Zambia's largest tribes. It is the Bemba's claims to ancestral land which largely explains UNIP's poor showing on the copper belt, where the tribe's main strength lies. President Kaunda, who has always managed to maintain a delicate tribal balance within his administration, could have a hard time bringing Bemba back into the mainstream of Zambian politics at this stage.

At the same time, President Kaunda is coming under increasing pressure to bring some young blood into his administration. There is a new generation of Zambians who feel he has surrounded himself for so long with loyal but often ineffective colleagues from the early days of independence.

But this new group is itself divided over what course Zambia should take. Some favour a greater degree of free enterprise, but others believe the Marxist style government be retained. The answer to Zambia's problems. It is a debate which is likely to intensify during the period until next year's elections.

Nicolas Ashford

The loneliness of the long-distance lorry driver

Ernie Byron drove his lorry on the Middle East run many times. The 10,000-mile round trip was no picnic on £9 a day expenses: the depleted state of his cab unit made him suspicious of his employer's finances; and he knew from other drivers that he would be vulnerable if anything went wrong. But it was a job, and these were increasingly hard to come by in south-east Essex.

And then the accident he dreaded happened. Driving his cab unit through Turkey on his way home from Kuwait, he was negotiating a right-hand bend when he encountered a jeep parked in the middle of the road. His cab unit failed to respond to avoiding action, and he ran into a petrol tanker. The tanker driver was killed and Mr Byron was thrown clear, suffering multiple fractures of an arm and a leg, as well as cuts on the head.

His injuries were attended to in a perfunctory fashion at the nearest state hospital, but no treatment was given to his broken limbs. He managed to get himself moved to an American military hospital in Istanbul but was later removed to the prison hospital, where there was no-one qualified to treat bone injuries. The American doctor was allowed to visit him, but not to treat him, and the injuries have left permanent damage as a result.

After three months in prison he was brought to trial for dangerous driving, found guilty and fined £1,000. During this period his wife sent £6 a

week through the British Consulate to supplement the prison diet, which Mr Byron described as "pig swill". He also faced the possibility of a civilian claim for compensation to the tanker owner, and the tanker driver's family of £5,700. Fortunately, his employer, whose firm was now in liquidation, signed an undertaking to pay this money within the next 12 months, for the alternative would have been indefinite jail for Ernie Byron, as the insurance coverage he had taken out on the Turkish border was only worth £161.

Ernie Byron paid his fine out of money raised by his family and friends in Basildon, and then slipped out of Turkey before any further legal proceedings could be instituted.

But perhaps worse than the pain of his injuries and the discomfort of the Turkish prison was the fact that no-one seemed to care. The treatment accorded to foreigners who run into difficulties in Middle Eastern countries is well known, yet the British Foreign Office and consular offices apply the same rigid rules as they do elsewhere. It was known that Ernie Byron had no financial resources immediately available (his wife and three children lived on social security benefits while he was held in prison), but he had with him the cost of getting proper medical treatment at the American hospital, or proper food while in prison, or his fine, even in the form of a loan repayable when he was

home in Britain, was offered. Nor, apparently, were any representations made to discover what had happened to the cash, nearly £300, impounded by the police at the scene of the accident, or to the personal belongings in his wrecked cab—several hundred pounds' worth of camping equipment.

No pressure was put on the Turkish authorities to see that proper medical attention was given, and the Foreign Office apparently viewed without concern the possibility of a British citizen being held in a Turkish prison for anything up to 20 years in circumstances which were only marginally his own fault and which would never have arisen if the government had taken proper responsibility for regulating the activities of British firms operating long-distance haulage abroad.

Ernie Byron's case is not an isolated one. The office rises of the past three years have caused a rapid growth in the prosperity of the Middle East, and a consequent rise in exports from Europe to the countries concerned.

The Middle East ports and transport facilities serving these areas have proved unable to cope with the increased traffic, and exporters have turned increasingly to road haulage for cargoes of all kinds. With loads valued at £100,000 a time, this traffic has been immensely profitable and has attracted a large number of operators who are not properly equipped for the job, as well as some who are positively undesirable.

For example, West Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia impose annual quotas limiting the number of foreign lorries passing through their territories. This quota is inadequate for the amount of traffic generated by the trade expansion in the Middle East, though the Foreign Office and Department of the Environment have had some success in negotiating increases in the British quota.

But in the meantime, some hauliers who were unaware of the legal methods of overcoming the quota limitations, took to using forged permits, and this led to a general distrust of British lorry drivers in the countries concerned.

It was the possible political consequences of such unpopularity which led to the Department of the Environment to legislate towards the end of 1975 for the inspection of permits and other necessary documentation before the driver leaves the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom.

Accordingly, the British Government has laid down its requirements for the insurance of motor vehicles taken abroad, and it is here that problems like Ernie Byron's arise. For the smaller operators, the legal requirements tend to take on other such insurance as is required by the law of the country they are visiting, and under Turkish law, this is very low.

The Government sees their role as "encouraging" visitors to Turkey, or other countries where the same situation applies, to take out much more extensive cover. This is a totally inadequate

response. If forged permits are likely to bring British lorries whole into disrepute, so is under insurance and consequent failure to pay compensation.

A driver backed by the resources of a large and reputable haulage company will be adequately covered, but drivers for smaller firms who will not spend the money risk rough treatment at the hands of Middle Eastern authorities. It would help Britain's image abroad, and would improve the treatment accorded to British drivers, if British law were to establish that all British hauliers operating overseas were required to be insured to the same extent as they are when operating in this country, and that they were therefore adequately covered for any damage they might have done.

It would require only a minor amendment to the Insurance Act, 1975, to ensure that insurance documentation was also examined.

The involvement of insurance companies in providing cover might in fact provide British lorry drivers with the kind of legal and investigatory assistance abroad which they ought to, but do not at present, receive from the consular officials.

But this should not be necessary in countries where the normal standards of legal and criminal investigation are considerably below what a British national might expect. It should be the responsibility of the consulate to obtain the right advice or treatment as

necessary, and to resolve questions of cost subsequently. The allocation of the consular places British nationals at the mercy of authorities whose concept of justice is very different from our own.

Many of the problems arise from the lack of adequate consultation with the governments of Iran and Turkey, the countries through which these routes run. The best approach to these governments is undoubtedly through the EEC, since the interests of Britain in keeping the routes open is shared by other countries of Western Europe. Our Foreign Office, together with the Department of Trade, must take a more intelligent interest in the EEC Mediterranean policy and its implications for British trade.

The trade with the Middle East involved in these long-distance lorry routes is vital to our economy. It is not enough for the Government to act on the information given by firms and to hope that lorry drivers will educate themselves to know whether they have the right documentation. The Government's failure to exercise control over the firm and take exceptional and ill-considered risks is bringing Britain's road haulage industry into disrepute. We risk losing our share of the transit quotas and the valuable trade they signify if this goes on.

The Government must regulate this traffic.

The author is Labour MP for Basildon.

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The Times Diary

A bloody tussle over the puddings

until the weekend after, which gives them yet another excuse. The pudding contest is accompanied by a fair, street carnivals with giant pudding-shaped marionettes, and an agricultural show. Pudding championships are held in a large hall in the centre of the show, with the numbered entries, identified only by country, laid out on long trestle tables for the judging. Spectators lean on the rails to watch with an intense appreciative interest only otherwise seen in the paddock at Newmarket.

This year's United Kingdom judges was Les Tilt, a nonchalant pork butcher and magistrate from Jersey. "I give them points for colour, consistency, flavour and presentation", he explained, pointing out on a British entry which will be receiving no medals because all its diced pork fat had sunk to the bottom during cooking. Tilt's own pudding came top of the British entries three years ago.

The puddings are sent by post to Mortagne at least a week before the judging, and are stored. "Last year the judges required more than 100 boxes of pudding", said Tilt. "The refrigeration broke down." Losing competitors suspect that the French hosts leave the foreign entries out in the sun.

Caviar

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Cold raw black pudding, however lovingly made, is not a thing to be eaten in quantity. The judges nibbled, spat, and cleared the palate between tastings with mineral water and Normandy cider. "Alors", declared a sharp-tongued French judge on seeing the flat cake-shaped baked pudding from Bill Whitfield of Washington, Co Durham: "C'est un pauvre pudding".

Whitfield was watching from the sidelines, accompanied by Jack Thornley from Chorley, Lancashire—the only other British butcher who took the precaution of bringing his entry to the contest by hand. Both men have an array of cups and medals from previous contests. Mind you", said Thornley bluntly, "we weren't even allowed to compete in the old days. You could not even get a British black pudding into France until de Gaulle died."

Whitfield, who is known all over the world in Cyprus, he called them the caviar of the north of England. And when I went on holiday to Malta last year, the first words I heard when I walked into the hotel were: "I'll bet he hasn't brought any black puddings."

All matters of importance relating to the black puddings are in the hands of a supercilious august body known as the Confédération des Chevaliers du Gout-Boudin, a sort of Pudding Brotherhood whose

Grand Master, or godfather, is Aldonzo Gortari, a local garage proprietor and prominent citizen of the town.

"The first time I met Gortari he was lying under a Citroën", said Thornley when no one else was listening. "What does he know about puddings?"

So I asked Gortari how he could be a pudding authority when he is in fact a garage proprietor? "C'est un amusement", he declared with a magisterial wave of the hand, and walked off.

Rites

The Chevaliers take themselves quite seriously, and have a uniform of scarlet robes trimmed with ermine, a hat like a curly bowler, and a cross of arms consisting of crossed griddle and roasting fork. Initiation ceremonies, for those who have served the cause of the boudin well, involve a dubbing, shoulder with a giant iron fork. Thornley and Whitfield, both members, are entitled to wear a large porcelain medalion round their necks. "If you become a Haut Officier you get one the size of a dinner plate", they explained.

There is a darker side to the picture, however. During the initiation ceremony each new chevalier takes an oath to eat a piece of black pudding every day for the rest of his life. It is whispered that the vow is not always strictly observed.

Because of the widely differing national characteristics of black puddings, a separate

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LIBERALS IN THE LIMELIGHT

It looks increasingly as if the Government's fate on Wednesday evening will depend on its capacity to satisfy the Liberals. In one sense that might not seem too demanding a task. Mr David Steel has been careful not to seek any impossible changes of policy: indeed, most of his suggestions come into the category of what the Government would do, or would wish to do, anyway in the present parliamentary circumstances. The days of the headlong rush to socialism are over for this Parliament. Most of the damage outlined in the Manifesto has already been done. So if the Government came to an arrangement with the Liberals it would not be forced to give up any measure of consequence on which its heart was set.

Mr Steel has mentioned four specific points: devolution, tax reform, direct elections to the European Parliament and worker participation, though not on the lines of the Bullock report. None of these should give too much difficulty. The Government is already engaged in talks with the other parties in an attempt to secure the necessary basis of agreement on devolution. Many ministers these days share the Liberal anxiety over the burden of direct taxation on incomes. The Government is itself committed to bring in legislation on direct elections to the European Parliament, and the Cabinet has agreed that one of the options to be put forward for public discussion in the White Paper should be proportional representation with a system of regional lists. Worker participation might cause the greatest trouble, because the Government

might find it embarrassing to disentangle itself from the Bullock preference for achieving this through the established union machinery. But the trade union movement is itself by no means united on this and there could be no majority for it in the present House of Commons.

But an arrangement of this political consequence between the Government and the Liberals is not to be obtained simply by placing ticks against a list of policy items. The main problem would not at this time be on the substance of policy but on the terms of the agreement. Mr Steel says he wants it to be open and public. It is easy to see why. There are two party advantages which the Liberals might hope to gain from such an accommodation. One is to demonstrate that they can exercise a moderating influence on whoever is in office. They might then be able to claim at a subsequent election that the best way to secure sensible, moderate government in Britain would be to vote for a strong Liberal representation in the Commons. That would be the most persuasive answer to the perennial charge of the wasted vote, but for it to be convincing the Liberals do have to show that they are in fact capable of bringing such pressure to bear. The other advantage the Liberals might hope for—though this would be more long-term and much more uncertain—is possibly to bring nearer that realignment in British politics of which they have dreamed for so long.

The Liberals want, therefore, not only influence, but the public acknowledgment of that influence. There are difficulties about that from the Govern-

ment's point of view, for good reasons and bad. No Government can afford to look as if it is prepared to be humiliated by another party in order to cling to office. Mr Callaghan cannot be expected to say in effect that he will govern in future according to Liberal instructions. But ministers are inhibited not only by a proper regard for their own dignity and authority but also by the ghosts of their left wing and of the party. Anything that savours in any way of a peace-time coalition is regarded in Labour circles as such a mark of mortal sin that ministers shrink from any agreement with another party even to do what they know the logic of their position will force them to do anyway. And there are those on the left whose greatest fear is compromise and who would relish the opportunities that they believe would be brought for them by defeat and a Tory government.

So if any accommodation between the Government and the Liberals is to be devised this week it will require subtlety and sensitivity. If the Liberals seek too much they will end with nothing, except the possibility of throwing the blame for an early election on to the Government. But there is much to be said, if it can be obtained, for an arrangement that would permit the present Government to remain in office for a bit while ensuring that there would be no more extremist measures. That would be preferable to the national interest at this time. But it does depend on an effective assurance from the Government on the moderation of their ways.

MISSIONARY MARXISM IN AFRICA

The visits of Presidents Castro and Podgorny to their African friends and clients this week show, and are meant to show, the strength and legitimacy of Russia's missionary interest in Africa. They contrast with the disarray of the West after the failure of the Anglo-American effort to present black Africa with an acceptable but peaceful achievement of their ambitions for Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, and vistas (if no more) therewith of change in South Africa itself.

President Podgorny is the personification of Russia's worldwide power, its oceanic navy, its intercontinental nuclear force, its pervasive and determined diplomacy. Such massive power impresses the Africans, and does not yet frighten many of them. Dr Castro is, without his Russian delivery-system, nothing much. The Africans know that. But in many places besides Angola he has for years provided invaluable security and technical services, made palatable by his claim that he too is of their oppressed and exploited Third World. A formidable combination for some years, it is now overt and self-confident.

Russia's method in Africa must be the manipulation of personalities and regimes. It is not the Soviet neocolonialism in Europe backed by armies on frontiers and in occupation. Penetration and control must be through Africa's

internal politics, which lend themselves to it by their opportunism. But Russia must offer to solve local as well as inter-African issues. The destruction of white rule is one, but only one. African regimes also have ambitions against each other, hard to reconcile, particularly in the South and in the Horn.

In Angola Russo-Cuban intervention gave President Neto victory. But now the Russians must deal with the consequences. The fighting in Shaba, formerly Katanga, is part of these. The frontier between Angola and Zaïre runs almost as hot as the frontiers of Ethiopia. Each country harbours subversive forces wishing to overthrow the government of the other. President Mobutu backed the three groups which competed with President Neto's Marxist MPLA, and still keeps them in the field as potential threats. Simultaneously, President Neto has a counter-force in the exiled Katanga troops of Moïse Tshombe. This group has now been persuaded that the time is ripe to drive against Shaba and its copper and manganese, with Cuban aid. Their object is to spark off a revolt against President Mobutu's unstable regime, reveal the demoralization of his army, and forestall Zaïrean counterplots against Cabinda and its oil.

But what touches Zaïre touches Zambia. The two countries stand together against the pressures of Marxist Angola and Mozambique, in whose control of access to the coast and use of Cuban troops they see a threat to their own independence. President Kaunda will have the opportunity to ask the relevant questions of both his visitors this week, in intervals between discussions on helping the Rhodesian guerrillas. His preoccupation is Rhodesia, but he cannot be happy at seeing Zaïre, however indirectly, the latest victim of Russia's growing say in African affairs. He has shown more sensitivity than most African leaders to the dangers from Africa's weakness and divisions—the growth of puppet regimes, serving non-African interests—in the aftermath of colonialism.

The extent of the threat to Zaïre is not yet clear. The West must be circumspect, as President Carter obviously perceives, in jumping in with military aid. That might serve Russia's interests. But there cannot simply be acquiescence in Cuban intervention directed towards changing African governments, as well as installing and protecting them from their constituents. It may be best to take Zaïre's advice on how to make a counter-productive. The West has few cards at the moment and must play with care.

David Wood

The moment of truth for everyone

Speculation about the outcome of Wednesday's no confidence vote in the Commons will get its novelties, at least until crude oil has been made in the next 36 hours or so. For all we know, the well-known journalist is once again running between Eaton Place and 10 Downing Street, to inform Mr Tom McCaffrey, the Prime Minister's press adviser, according to precedent, what Mr Enoch Powell intends to do with the whole, or part, of the United Ulster Unionist vote.

For all we know, some other errand-boy has made his way under a flag of truce to explain Mr David Steel's terms to Mr Callaghan, and Mr Callaghan's to Mr Steel. For all we know, Mr Frank Tomney, the Labour stalwart of the right, who has been much put upon by his constituency party and the national executive committee, has already decided that if the Government's reprieve depends upon his golden vote, then he will wreak vengeance by denying it. Anything, from the heroic downwards, is possible when the stakes are high.

Rather than speculate in per-mutating voting figures, it is more profitable now to analyse unemotionally what has happened, and how it happened. Having argued the point more than once in this column, I can state quite simply that what has happened, A government that came into power with support from less than a third of the total electorate of the United Kingdom in October 1974, with a tiny Commons majority now eroded by defections and lost by-elections, can no longer live by bluff and blarney as it pursues a non-socialist economic policy and tries to appease its left wing by "clause four" Bills.

The bluff has been called; or, more precisely, was not allowed to be called at the close of the public expenditure debate on Thursday night, because the Government dared not risk a substantive motion that would reveal the left's militant

opposition to cuts in spending fore-cast by the package and his business managers decided that discretion was the better part of valour. Their technical motion asked only for adjourning the House, and when the Scottish National Party shouted "No", not one Labour vote was cast in favour of the Government motion.

In short, the Government relied on procedural gamesmanship. So did Mrs Thatcher and the Opposition, who unlike the Labour left believe in spending cuts and could complain only that the wrong cuts or not enough cuts had been made. The Opposition, therefore, could not make fools of themselves by dividing against half a loaf rather than a whole loaf. They had to depend on the Tribune group's forcing a division and defeating the Government by a direct vote against the Prime Minister's motion. The Tribune group, who are heroes only when there are no shots or courts martial, did not shout "No" to the adjournment motion. They sat silent as the Sphinx. At that point the Scottish Nationalists, aggrieved less by public spending cuts than by the Government's failure to carry its devolution Bill, leapt in with "No" and provided two tellers for a division. Figures: 293 votes to 0.

To those outside Westminster, all that must seem a flimsy pretext for Mrs Thatcher to table a "no confidence" motion and precipitate a general election. Governments, it might be felt, should be made to put their fortunes to the touch, not on procedural points but on high questions of principle and policy. Yet Mrs Thatcher is still right. It is not merely that for the first time since she became leader she has completely broken up the tacit coalition between Government and socialism in power since October 1974. It is also that the revenue side of the Budget gets honoured and the spending side gets ignored; and the two economically must be of equal importance.

We know that Mr Healey, the Chancellor, intends to bring in a giveaway Budget on March 29, immediately before Stechford votes in by-election and before the TUC leaders agree to a third year of pay curbs on the basis of what is called a "social contract" that the Government has essentially distorted, if not abandoned. Conservatives know that Tribune group MPs and a majority of Labour's national executive committee oppose what is called the Government's

economic strategy, or more exactly its package of economic shifts and expedients.

Mrs Thatcher and the Shadow Cabinet are therefore justified in creating what Mr Callaghan has called the "moment of truth", even on a basis of mere Westminster procedure, because the worst cutting of the throat of Labour politics has been plain to see for years. Mr Callaghan no doubt meant it was "the moment of truth" for minor parties to decide between himself and Mrs Thatcher as Prime Minister. It is a more important sense, it is the moment of truth for the Labour Party itself, the day a fundamental falsity is put to the test. What kind of party is it, and what kind of Government can it produce? Does it pursue "class" interests, or the long-term national interest, or either according to party needs or day-by-day?

Those are now questions that have to be answered in the next few hours by Mr Steel and the Liberals, and by Mr Enoch Powell and such Ulster Unionist MPs as he may influence. Or may be, by the three Plaid Cymru MPs, Mr Price, a former Cabinet minister now discarded by his constituency party; and Mr Tomney, the dismissed Labour MP for Hammersmith, North. It is the moment of truth for all of them.

I do not pretend to know what the outcome in Wednesday's division will be. I should not care, though, to be in Mr Steel's shoes as he makes a fateful decision for the Liberal Party. He has made the mistake of openly stating his terms for a deal with Mr Callaghan, and he is aware that no Prime Minister could accept them. It is not valid, as Mr Steel has stated or implied, that there is a consensus in or outside Westminster for Scottish and Welsh devolution, or for proportional representation in our voting system. The Government itself has accepted that the devolution Bill cannot yet be carried through Parliament; the weakness of the House of Commons exploited, since March 1974, by the Government's policy that a multiplicity of parties in the Commons can create governmental paralysis as well as representational justice. Yet we are probably in a situation when by procedural gamesmanship Mr Callaghan and Mrs Thatcher have provided an opportunity for the people to decide when the long-discussed reorientation of political forces, at least inside Westminster, should at last begin to take place. I hope for little, yet I could be surprised.

Cannabis and the law

From Lady Wootton of Abinger

Sir, Why, I wonder, has Mr Ronald Butcher chosen this moment (March 17) to give thanks to Mr Callaghan for his rejection, when Home Secretary eight years ago, of the allegedly pernicious recommendations of what has become known as the Wootton Committee on Cannabis?

Is Mr Butcher unaware of all that has happened since then? It may still be early days to be confident that prolonged or excessive use of cannabis (as of any other drug) may carry risks comparable to those which at least have been found to be associated with tobacco. But Professor J. P. D. Graham's recently published collection of papers by 12 eminent contributors shows that even on this point the flood of new research does not all point in the same direction. Meanwhile there has been a great change in the climate of Western opinion about the moderate use of cannabis and the proper scope of legislative action in relation to this.

Already in the United States, eight states have taken steps to "decriminalize" the possession of cannabis, while at least a score of others are contemplating similar action: and now we hear that President Carter's administration is giving federal blessing to this policy. Other governments in Canada, in Europe, and in Australia are following the same path.

But most remarkable of all is Mr Butcher's failure to notice that Mr Callaghan himself is moving with the times. The Government of which he is the head has just presented to Parliament a Criminal Law Bill which would halve, by a reduction from six months to three, the maximum sentence which a magistrate's court can impose for possession of cannabis. Contrary to what is widely believed, neither my committee nor I have ever advocated the legalization of cannabis. But the Government's new proposal would bring the penalty for summary conviction of possession actually below the level recommended by the Intoxicant Wootton Committee.

Yours, etc.,

WOOTTON OF ABINGER,

House of Lords,

March 17.

Arabs at universities

From Mr Antony Sherwood

Sir, Mr Morrell has put his finger on some very real difficulties in the way of Arab students coming to study in Britain (letter, March 16). But the picture is not entirely gloomy.

The British Council, which has long standing interests in educational cooperation in the Gulf, has over the past two or three years been in touch with a large number of British educational institutions, most of whom recognize the difficulties and are doing their best to overcome them. An increasing number of courses are being devised to reflect the known needs of countries such as the UAE, and the British Council has provided, and will continue to provide, the UAE Ministry of Education with details of these.

Offers of training in Britain are usually designed to enable UAE students to enter the system without special preparatory training, but where this is necessary bridging courses can be designed to provide both English language training and the necessary academic qualifications.

Where courses already exist, the published fees for overseas students normally apply, but some courses have to be specially set up to meet the needs of a particular group of students, the full economic costs have to be charged and inevitably it is high. Perhaps some private institutions try to make excessive profits out of this situation, but fortunately they are few.

Mr Morrell is right to stress the genuine friendship that exists in the UAE (and other Gulf states) towards Britain, particularly in the educational field, and the need to safeguard against the loss of this friendship through undue inflexibility. These were discussed at the UK/UAE intergovernmental Joint Economic Committee meeting held in Abu Dhabi in December, and the British Council is now following up the opportunities for increasing cooperation revealed on that occasion.

Yours ever,
ANTONY SHERWOOD,
Head, Africa and Middle East Division,
The British Council,
10 Spring Gardens, SW1,
March 17.

Encouraging literature

From the Director of the National Book League

Sir, Your readers may not be aware that Sweden does already have a scheme in operation very similar to that proposed by Tom Rosenthal in his article in *The Times* of February 26.

The Swedish Government subsidises the publication of serious novels by contributing to their cost of production. The subsidy is dependent on advance orders being placed by public libraries, of which there must be a minimum of 40 copies by no less than 24 libraries. This involves having official selection committees and the like. It also means that readers can influence the choice of books by their local demands on the libraries.

The other side of this subsidy, which approaches very nearly to Mr Rosenthal's proposal, is that the publishers have to supply 1,250 free copies of each title subsidised to public libraries.

This form of subsidy makes sure both that the worth while book can be published and that it will secure an adequate readership. It is worth adding that a not too dissimilar scheme operates in Norway.

Yours faithfully,
MARTYN GOFF,
Director, National Book League,
7 Albemarle Street, W1,
March 18.

Prosecution of Ulster terrorists

From Mr Edward Hay

Sir, Mr Airey Neave is right to say (March 17) that "many big fish among the terrorists in Northern Ireland swim around with impunity". Certainly, when I served in Ulster, under a Conservative Government, that was the case. But the fact remains that it is extremely difficult to frame a law which on the one hand will bring forth a guilty verdict in a court of law, and on the other hand, will not trespass on the rights and freedoms of the great majority of law-abiding citizens. I would hazard a guess that Mr Whitelaw, when Secretary of State, thought about the possibilities of such a law but rejected it on the grounds of impracticability.

For Ulster will only return to normality if the due processes of fair and reasonable law are seen to be at work. Interment without trial was a mistake, as most people, with hindsight, will now acknowledge. It was a mistake largely because it brought the IRA considerable support in the Catholic ghettos but also because it was thought by the majority of the population to be unfair.

Therefore, at this critical time, when the IRA look to be losing their economic support from foreign countries, it would be unwise to give them the slightest banner to wave in the supposed cause of freedom. Your obedient servant,
EDWARD HAY,
London, SW1,
March 17.

BBC's Irish troubles

From Mr John Biggs-Davison, MP for Epping Forest (Conservative)

Sir, Following your balanced and judicious report on the handling of the BBC (March 16), I would praise its determination to present facts and expose injustice without fear or favour. To that may be ascribed much of its worldwide prestige.

But a Corporation that calls itself "British" and is under Royal Charter cannot stand superbly aloof from a life or death struggle not

between rival communities or different opinions but between the defenders and destroyers of our democracy—between revolutionaries who, invariably rejected by the universal and secret ballot, turn to terrorism and all those who abide by constitutional process.

The few cases of military or police brutality must be investigated and punished. The Security Forces should not, and do not, lower themselves to the level of the terrorists. But one must not forget that the exploitation of the media of mass information has long been a main weapon, skillfully used, of the physical force republicans. Broadcasters must therefore be on their guard lest they be conned.

Indeed, a BBC concerned for justice, objectivity and the public interest would present more vividly and more often the chivalry, cold courage and exertions which are routine in the Royal Ulster Constabulary and RUC Reserve and the Security Forces as a whole. BBC viewers and listeners are among those whom they protect with their service and with their lives.

If film making on location with actual personnel be too risky, a fictionalized series about the RUC could be both informative and entertaining. The public appetite for police thrillers need not always be gratified by noisy, trashy features imported for dollars.
Yours faithfully,
JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON,
House of Commons,
March 18.

From Mr F. E. McWilliam

Sir, I have the greatest respect for the integrity of the BBC, yet, with regard to the matter of the handling of the priest in the novel by Honor Tracey, who exhorted his flock to keep to the straight and narrow path between good and evil.
Yours faithfully,
F. E. MCWILLIAM,
84 Holland Villas Road, W.1,
March 17.

President Amin

From Sir Walter Coulters

Sir, I would like to support Miss Elizabeth Frink's letter in your edition of March 17, on the subject of President Amin. On Tuesday June 3, 1975, I asked, as a former Governor of Uganda, to see the Foreign Secretary (then Mr Callaghan) about the position of the thousands of Ugandans who had particular reference to certain refugees in this country and elsewhere and also because too many of my good African Ugandan friends, officials and Ministers, were by then dead. I saw an Under Minister who informed me nothing could be done.

Something can be done if we all make our voice heard and our name very clear. The Kikuyu in Kenya have a proverb Kamungu Koina Ndir which very loosely translated means "the little body of men can more easily lift the heavy load". Communal rather than individual effort is necessary. I sympathise with the Prime Minister who was sent by his predecessor to Uganda to plead with Amin for the life of

one of our own citizens. The Prime Minister's personal position can now only be much more difficult.

Two lines of action seem to me necessary.

(1) As regards the Commonwealth Conference, anyone as who really do believe in human rights, should make it abundantly clear that not on any account do we wish this man to put his foot in Great Britain and all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers particularly the Africans should speak from the heart and not diplomacy on this occasion and say they do not want him to attend.

(2) Every effort must be made by our Government through pressure from us to make the United Nations act. If that body is prepared to do its duty, unlike its Human Rights Commission, then it should cease to indulge in double talk and carry out the intervention which the free world obviously wants and justice demands.

Yours faithfully,
WALTER COULTERS,
6 Stanmore Gardens,
Harrow,
Middlesex,
Berkshire,
March 18.

Exit the cream cracker

From Mr Derrick R. Hornby

Sir, We are sorry that in your third letter to the "Cream Cracker" of March 17, you feel it necessary to part from an "old friend" on an issue which is of importance to our other friends, the consumers. You seem to have failed entirely to make an assessment of the consequences of the United Kingdom accepting the draft regulation to which you have now given your unqualified support.

Quite rightly, you say that one of the main purposes of this proposed regulation will be to brode the butter and skimmed milk powder mountains in the EEC. However, at a point of principle the Food Manufacturers' Federation does not believe that the method of disposing of surpluses should be to force food manufacturers to use these surpluses to replace other products to the detriment of the consumer and the consumer of those other products. The only solution to the surplus problem is by cutting the return to that sector which creates the surplus.

It is ironic that, contrary to your belief, this proposed regulation will, in fact, increase the return to the EEC dairy mountains. A recent survey carried out by the Food Manufacturers' Federation shows that, if this proposed regulation were to be implemented, liquid milk, consumption would be reduced by about 30 million gallons.

Not only, therefore, is the proposed regulation counter-productive, but it would reduce the choice of products available to the United Kingdom household since a number of products containing vegetable fats would have to be withdrawn from the market. Not only would the proposed regulation have these effects, but it could put approximately 6,500 people out of work in the industry. We cannot believe that your editorial comments support these results.

Could we suggest that, as a parallel to this particular issue, you consider whether your newspaper would like a regulation which forces it to change its title—which I understand you have used for some years—and change the composition of the newspaper in order to use less black ink in favour of red ink of which there is a surplus.
Yours truly,
DERICK R. HORNBY,
President, FME Conference,
1-2 Castle Lane,
Buckingham Gate, SW1,
March 17.

From Mr R. W. Lawes

Sir, Your leading article dealing with the EEC exclusive use of Milk draft regulation (March 17) overlooks the basic principle that the customer has the right to choose whether they want foods made with vegetable fat or foods made with animal fat.

Labelling regulations already exist in the United Kingdom to ensure that the buyer is not misled, but this regulation is designed to force manufacturers and economic food products off the market in the mistaken belief that the farming interest and the EEC budget would benefit.

As managing director of a food manufacturing business that would be caught by this regulation, I know that the regulation would result in more milk powder being sold to the EEC Intervention Board—not less—and the milk powder mountain would be increased. The taxpayer and the consumer will ultimately have to pay the bill.
Yours faithfully,
R. W. LAWES,
Managing Director,
L. E. Pritchett & Co. Ltd.,
Comelle House,
Blackhorse Road,
Deptford, SE8,
March 17.

From Mr Kenneth Werrell

Sir, Butter-Scotch really is made with butter (Mrs James' letter on March 16). Even if it does not contain Scotch.

Likewise Chocolate Tea-Cakes, at least are made with real chocolate, if not Tea-Cakes.

But surely this is better than the disappointment of neither Cream nor Crackers?
Yours truly,
KENNETH WERRELL,
Managing Director, "The Butter-Scotch people",
Callard and Bowser, Nuttall Ltd.,
PO Box 35,
Silverdale Road,
Hayes,
March 18.

Housing costs

From Mr Hugh Rossi, MP for Hornsey (Conservative)

Sir, In your report "Housing Corporation replies to Charges" (March 12), you quote that it "had dropped 27 schemes comprising 2,807 homes at a total cost of nearly £34m. After allowing for some £4m in fees, interest charges and reductions in land values, the net savings would be some £30m."

Is this not a somewhat curious use of the word "savings" but typical of the abuse of language to be found in official apologies. A more valid presentation would assume that an enforced reduction of £30m in capital expenditure will result in 2,807 new homes being lost, and £4m of public money thrown away.

One does not level any criticism against the Housing Corporation for this. It faces enormous difficulty in the savage cut back of £57m in its funds by a Government which prefers to maintain council rent subsidies at a level of £1,500m in the year—for rather obvious electoral reasons.
Yours faithfully,
HUGH ROSSI,
House of Commons,
March 17.

Oxford women's colleges

From the Principal of Somerville College

Sir, Diana Geddes' article in your issue of March 15 contained some arbitrary assumptions to which I hope that you will allow me to draw attention, since they might otherwise harm the women's colleges at Oxford.

I have no right to speak for the other women's colleges, but Somerville at least does not fear second-class status. Somerville, which celebrates its centenary in 1979, intends to be even more successful in its second hundred years than in its first, and these have not been undistinguished.

The article suggests that it is based on certain statistical information which as yet does not exist. It says that the best women applicants are being creamed off by the mixed colleges. Except for medicine and mathematics there is no uniform system of marking the papers of entrance candidates as a whole; hence there is no possibility of assessing accurately the relative standard of their performance. Each college and subject has its own system of grading.

Women were admitted to the mixed colleges only in 1974, and will not graduate until later this year. It is therefore not yet possible to compare their degree classes (by the standards of the mixed colleges) with those of their contemporaries at the women's colleges. Given that the number of places at the women's colleges has grown by only slightly more than 10 per cent over the past four years, one would expect to see increasing applications from women to be larger at the mixed colleges, which took no women before 1974, than at the women's, the size of which has been relatively stable.

We are told that the "mixed colleges can afford to be highly selective in their choice of female candidates (despite the Sex Discrimination Act?)" for the past two years only 30 per cent of applicants have been awarded places, whereas the women's colleges awarded places in 1976 to 43 per cent of their applicants as compared with 36 per cent in 1975. This means that it is claimed, that the women's colleges are being forced to take candidates of lower quality.

The interpretation of these figures is far more complex than the above suggests. The 30 per cent of successful women applicants to the mixed colleges is weighted heavily by the lower percentage of acceptance in a few subjects in which there is an excess of good candidates. The possibility that the women's colleges may be accepting a higher percentage of their candidates not only because the range of subjects for which they are applying is greater, but also because the applicants of higher quality is entirely overlooked.

The experiment of having mixed colleges at Oxford has unquestionably been a success. Provided the number of such colleges is increased gradually there is good reason to expect that the present situation, in which the numbers of women applicants will persist so that there will continue to be enough good women for both mixed and women's colleges. We are told that the number of women who will prefer a women's college is unlikely ever to be enough to have much effect. That is pure guesswork.

The women's colleges have their own attractions. Well-stocked libraries were mentioned in the article amongst the advantages of the older men's colleges. Somerville, and it is not for me to speak for other fellow women's colleges, has one of the best libraries in Oxford. The college's prestige and hopes for the future have already been indicated.
Yours faithfully,
BARBARA CRAIG,
Principal, Somerville College,
Oxford,
March 17.

"Libertine" trial

From Mr Francis Bennion

Sir, Having been in court (as a journalist rather than a lawyer) throughout the hearing of evidence in the *Libertine* trial, I write to defend Judge Sime against Mrs Whitehouse's attack (Letters, March 17). The learned Judge ruled impeccably. If I were to write with respect, on what evidence was admissible in the light of the House of Lords ruling to which Mrs Whitehouse refers, Mr John Mortimer, for the defence, was equally impeccable in accepting the limitations placed on him by that ruling. He admitted that it could no longer be argued that pornography was therapeutic, "like taking a pill". The learned Judge, observing that this was "a nice put", went on to rule that the evidence of learning the head of the public good defence allowed people to be shown "that there are certain vices", but not "from the operative point of view". He warned that there must be no question of "teaching a new dog new tricks".

What Mrs Whitehouse thinks is the "true public good" is not necessarily what people in general, as represented by juries, think it is. The *Libertine* jury acquitted on all counts. They did this unanimously, after a retirement of only fifteen minutes. Would the members of the jury have acted thus if any of them had really thought *Libertine* reprehensible?

At the end of her letter Mrs Whitehouse misquotes a remark made at the trial by Mr Mortimer. I know what he really said, because I wrote it down. He told the jury quite rightly, that although the prosecutor had alleged that *Libertine* was "filth", and had used other similar epithets, that had nothing to do with the case for the simple reason that the only words that mattered were the words in the statutory definition of obscenity, namely "deprave and corrupt".
Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS BENNION,
Flat 4,
24 St Andrews,
East Sussex,
March 17.

A Times Profile

Herman Kahn

The one-man think tank who puts his faith in the future



It is easy to see why Herman Kahn has taken to exploring the future of mankind. It is simply that no narrower subject would give him enough material to which to apply his vast intellectual energy.

Kahn is an intellectual— which is rather like saying that he has no interest in ideas for his own sake. He thinks continually and at a furious pace, but he is always thinking about something, and something that is happening, or might happen. His motto might be Cassius's injunction to Brutus: "Till then, think of the world."

He first achieved fame as a nuclear strategist. An alumnus of the Rand Corporation, the biggest and most famous of the American think tanks, he was the first nuclear strategist to become a public figure, as much because of his flamboyant style of presentation as the solid substance of his thought.

He is still a public figure, and he lectures to distinguished and influential public and private audiences both in America and in countries he visits, including this one. Nowadays, his subject is usually the future.

His first book, *On Thermonuclear War*, published in 1960, had considerable influence, as did his later writing, on the subject aimed at a more popular audience. He introduced a new layer of the well-informed public to thinking about nuclear deterrence and war beyond the concept of pushing the Apocalypse button. He also introduced "escalation" into the language of politics and social action (and some people might think he has a lot to answer for).

Ten years ago, he wrote *The Year 2000*, and now he has followed this with *The Next 200 Years*. He had collaborators on each of these works, but the guiding hand and style are clearly his. The collaborators are all members of the Hudson Institute, of which he is the director.

This time, he has introduced a wider public to the idea that intelligent, long-range forecast-

ing can be useful even in a world of uncertainties. He introduced them to such devices as "surprise-free projections" and "causal variations" on these.

His books on the future are widely read among the kind of intellectuals who advise governments and industry, and they have helped to stimulate other studies. Some business corporations are now interested in having in their files for reference an outline of several possible future environments in which they might be operating, identifying trigger points which will determine the way things will go.

One reason why industrialists listen when Herman Kahn lectures to them may be that they like to hear what he tells them. There are two broad schools of thought about the future. Kahn is among the optimists, those who argue that the economic and social problems of the world are not going to run out of food or natural resources, or choke itself to death. He believes that continued economic growth is not only possible but desirable.

"Your view on this subject determines your whole attitude to the world," he said recently, and went on with a characteristic metaphor. "If you're one of those who believe that the world is heading for catastrophe, and that a few rich countries are using up most of the world's available resources, then your picture of the world is something like this: there are 15 people on a raft, 14 of them are dying of thirst, and the fifteenth has a barrel of water, and he takes a bath in it."

His justification for doing so is that he owns it. And his only worry is that he may not have enough water to take a bath tomorrow.

"If you believe that, then the individual who works hard and contributes to our modern industrial society is abetting a criminal enterprise, and the drop-out is more or less doing God's work."

"And if this picture is right, then it justifies terrorism

against the West. After all, what the terrorist is fighting against is the worst crime in history. In the numbers of people who will starve to death, it makes the murder of 6,000,000 Jews pale into insignificance by comparison. And I think a lot of people will justify terrorism in this way. This is one of the things that's happening. For a lot of people, terrorist violence is becoming legitimized."

His own picture of population and resources is a very different one. He has constructed a chart of world history over past and future millennia in which we are right in the middle of a 400-year period during which the world passes from pre-industrial poverty to a post-industrial culture of affluence. It also envisages the population growth tapering off.

"I'm not saying," he explains, "that there won't be shortages of some things, that we won't have to make changes, and that there won't be problems. I'm saying that with reasonably good management, the world can get through without catastrophe."

But what does he mean by "reasonably good management"? The kind of international cooperation and good sense that we've all been awaiting for a thousand years?

He grins and corrects himself. "No, no, I mean reasonably bad management. The way things have been run in the past few years."

He thinks the anti-growth view stems partly from a misreading of certain signs, partly from guilt feelings among affluent liberals, partly from a failure of nerve on the part of the West. These last two points have cropped up increasingly in his writing and his conversation in the past few years, so that he sometimes sounds like a Middle America conservative.

Herman Kahn is a cheerful, friendly man with round dark eyes and an enormous grin that is the delayed result of a boyhood illness. He lives with his wife and two teenage sons in a large house near the Hudson Institute in Croton, a wooded area just north of New York City. His life-style is not a cloistered, academic one. His friends are businessmen and military officers as often as

scientists and professional intellectuals, and he shares many of their concerns. He likes gadgets, and his office and home are full of them.

Kahn was educated as a physicist, and he still employs a physicist's precision to qualify his observations. He will say in conversation "I believe that, but not very intensely. I wouldn't want to argue it before a hostile audience." Or, "We're friends, but we're armed friends, you know? There are some people with whom you're disarmed friends."

When he writes or talks about things like resources and population, statistics come pouring out. But ideas and concepts are never far away from the tables

of figures. Often, he organizes them into lists.

His most famous list was the 44-rung escalation ladder, which went all the way from Ostensible Crisis, rung 1, through diplomatic and economic measures, Dramatic Military Confrontation, rung 9, up to various kinds of nuclear exchange.

Nowadays, his lists tend to be more eclectic. For instance, Some Sources of New Agricultural Land; Long-term Urban Trends Which Should Not Change; Significant; Six Likely Global Economic Groupings in the Year 2000; Some Key Chinese Internal Problems; Some Mixed Blessings of Progress.

This last list illustrates his disconcerting manner of handling technology, the social environment and man's inner life in the same brisk, comprehensive manner. The mixed blessings include: "1. defunctionalization—a partial but increasing loss of meaning of man's most cherished activities through the development of short cuts to gratification, 2. accumulation of weapons of mass destruction, 3. loss of privacy and solitude, 4. increase of governmental and/or private power over individuals, and "5.

posing of choices that are too large, complex, important or uncertain to be left safely to fallible human beings."

Kahn reads his lectures with lists like these, and other reading matter as well—charts and tables, and even quotations and aphorisms—set out on posters. He displays these one after the other to make the points sink home, sometimes so rapidly as he races through his subject-matter that the effect is almost subliminal. One Continental visitor to the Hudson Institute described a performance of his, not without admiration, as "Herman Kahn's *sonnet*."

He displays the same combination of powerful intelligence and exuberant uninhibited passion for communication that British televisioners associate with Magnus Pyke and Patrick Moore. Sometimes, also, he stumbles over his eagerness to communicate, losing whole phrases and scurrying up to get them, and coming near to being clownish.

Herman Kahn grew up in Los Angeles, served in the army during the war, and was a telephone salesman, then studied physics at the California Institute of Technology, and taught himself economics on the side. He took a job at the Rand Corporation near by as a computer technician, simply to earn salary while he did post-graduate work, but he soon became fascinated by the problems that Rand was working on. He developed new uses for computers and systems analysis, then worked on early and influential studies for government agencies on the air force on nuclear strategy and civil defence.

Kahn was to become identified in the public mind as a ruthless technocrat who turns humanity's problems over to computers. But he is remembered at Rand as one who argued against excessive reliance on new intellectual tools, in favour of common sense. He used to say that much as he admired the brain-power and method of Rand when he came to tackling global political problems, he would exchange the entire staff for Winston Churchill at the age of 65.

On *Thermonuclear War* (the echo of Clausewitz is deliberate) made him famous. It also brought him vilification, for looking at the subject in a manner which, when it was not cold and dispassionate, seemed almost enthusiastic. His writing was dubbed "nuclear pornography." The science writer James H. Newman wrote in a lengthy denunciation: "Nuclear war is unthinkable, and should remain so." This gave Kahn the title for his next book.

Thinking About the Unthinkable, which contained among other things a vigorous defence of his nuclear cop.

He left Rand in 1963 and started the Hudson Institute, to carry out studies for the government, principally the Pentagon, and private corporations. It still does government contract work, but in recent years it has specialized in studies of the future financed by private industry and foundations, and has opened a European office in Paris and an Asian office in Tokyo.

The Hudson Institute at home is an extension of Kahn's own personality. It produces studies on subjects that interest him. In conversation, Kahn often uses the terms "I think" and "We at the Hudson Institute think" interchangeably.

He sees it as having a mission of public education, and this is carried out principally at three week-long seminars conducted each year by the institute's staff, including Kahn himself. Government officials, academics, business executives and one or two journalists are invited; a hefty fee is charged to those whose employers can't afford it. I attended one, and it was an extraordinarily stimulating experience. Currently, the topics for the three seminars are: Security Issues; Domestic American Issues; Business and Society, which includes questions of resources and population.

These topics are broad enough and vague enough to encompass a wide range of ideas that preoccupy Kahn at any one time. Here are a few from a recent evening's conversation:

● The "educated incapacity" as he calls it, of the liberal intelligentsia. By this he means that their education has made them unable to perceive certain things that much less educated people can see easily. This is a favourite theme of his.

● For instance, he says, for 10 years these people in America, and the *New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*, their organs of opinion, they didn't see that law and order for most people was not just a code word for racism, but was a genuine value.

● They also couldn't see that busing white children to schools in black districts would be totally unacceptable to the parents involved, even though they wouldn't mind black children being bused to schools in their districts. You know, the subtlest of American history, "the forgotten man." Well when A and B get together and decide what C can do for D, then C is the forgotten man.

● The elasticity of energy supply. Kahn forecasts that the

world will move from using what he calls exhausable energy sources to eternal ones, such as solar energy.

As for the question: "If I could turn the clock back when I'd do so, and not have any nuclear reactors. But you can't turn the clock back, and I think we can probably avoid a disaster with a reasonably degree of control."

Nevertheless, he says: "I think about 10 Third World countries are probably starting a nuclear weapons programme clandestinely. Countries like Pakistan, Iran, Brazil, Taiwan, South Korea. That is, they have a programme in the sense that, for instance, they've got a lot of people studying physics and nuclear engineering with the thought that one day they may want to use their reactors to make weapons."

● Insurgency and counter-insurgency. This occupies a lot of time in the seminar on National Security, and it is a subject on which the Hudson Institute has extensive studies for the United States armed forces.

"There's no force like the Vietcong in Latin America. Ten years ago, people were saying that every country in Latin America would be plagued by the rural guerrilla movement. They've all beaten their rural guerrillas. Urban guerrillas are another thing."

"There's a technique for fighting a rural guerrilla war. You fight it with a rural counter-insurgency. You make it a police action. One cop is worth a hundred soldiers. You have soldiers there only to protect the cops."

● Every Latin American army has gone through the counter-insurgency training course in the Panama Canal Zone. The training there is much better than it is at Fort Bragg. And what's taught at Fort Bragg is better than what was practised in Vietnam."

Parly because he advises the United States military on subjects ranging from nuclear strategy to counter-insurgency, some people have pictured Kahn as an amoral technician. But he rejects this totally.

"I always ask myself the question: is it right or wrong before I do anything public or private," he says. "But I have no compunction about making the American military as skillful as possible. None at all. This is a decent country."

"I don't say that it can never do wrong. But I don't think it is immoral to make it stronger. Find me any country in the world that's less likely to misuse its strength."

Norman Moss
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Was it disease that finally killed off the Roman Empire?

Did Gibbon get it wrong? His explanation for the fall of the Roman Empire was that degeneracy, loss of moral and physical courage, and weakening of character led to the Roman world becoming "peopled by a race of plagues for whom the glories of the past broke in." From time to time other more prosaic explanations have been offered for the apparent decline in the vigour of Roman society: chronic lead poisoning from the use of lead glazed containers for wine may have played a part, for example; but no one has seriously challenged the overall validity of Gibbon's analysis.

Yet in common with other historians writing before the present century, Gibbon could have known nothing of the transmission and spread of viral and bacterial diseases, and in consequence he gave plagues and pestilences little emphasis as causes of power changes of the ancient world.

In fact disease may have been a vital factor in the fall of AD troops who had been campaigning in Mesopotamia brought a new infection—almost certainly smallpox—to the Roman Empire. The Mediterranean peoples had no natural immunity to the virus and the mortality in this Antonine plague was heavy. Towns and whole provinces lost as many as one third of their inhabitants. More important, this was not an isolated disaster: in the next 100 years fresh epidemic waves of disease returned with equally devastating effects. Between 251 and 266 AD a "pestilence" was so virulent in Italy that at times the deaths in the city of Rome totalled over 5,000 a day. The evidence suggests that this may have been the first contact of a European population with measles—another killing disease for any community without natural resistance to it.

The result of this century of outbreaks of devastating diseases was a sudden drop in population both in the cities and the countryside, opening up the imperial frontiers to the invasions that culminated in the sack of Rome by the Goths and Vandals. Beginning in the second century, Rome made agreements with barbarian tribesmen, allowing them to settle within her frontiers in return for military service—a clear indication that empty or near-empty land was available for the immigrants without displacing Roman taxpayers. By the reign of Diocletian (284-305 AD) laws were being passed prohibiting cultivators from

leaving their land. The whole argument of a reliable supply of food for her military forces, administrators, and indeed all city dwellers: and a catastrophic reduction of the agricultural workforce by disease would inevitably mean that the system crumbled.

That is the provocative theory developed by the Chicago historian Professor William H. McNellie as part of his broader examination of the effects of disease on history. *Plagues and People* (Blackwell, \$4.95) published in Britain this month has already led many Americans to take a fresh look at the political and social upheavals of former civilizations, and it seems likely to provoke similar interest here.

What Gibbon and earlier historians could not have known is that epidemic diseases are most lethal for communities meeting them for the first time, and that the worst killers, such as smallpox and plague, are comparatively new diseases in the lifetime of the human species. So long as man remained a nomadic hunter-gatherer, moving in small groups, his diseases were few. As soon as agriculture and sedentary life came, it became possible for parasites to become established in a community, especially when farming methods led to repeated human contact with stagnant polluted water.

Early civilizations throughout the tropical and semitropical world became victims of parasitic diseases such as bilharzia (transmitted by water snails); and, says McNellie, "massive and chronic malaise of the kind induced by blood fluke and similar parasitic infections conduces to successful invasion by the only kind of large-bodied predators human beings have to fear: their own kind." Almost inevitably the farming communities found themselves forced to support a parasitic system of landlords who exacted a parasitic system of rents.

And yet these early civilizations were able to grow and resist external attack because of another aspect of human disease: the crucial effect of the population size. Virus illnesses spread so rapidly that they spread through a whole population quickly, generally conferring life long immunity on survivors. Without a constant supply of new victims the virus will die out; and, indeed, measles is never found in isolated communities much below 300,000 in number. It seems fairly certain that

measles arose (presumably by mutation) from a disease only with the growth of large, stable city communities: it seems to have been unknown to the Greek physician Hippocrates writing in about 400 BC. Once civilizations had acquired diseases of this kind and developed some form of immunity to them, handed down generation to generation, they were provided a powerful weapon against outsiders. Military recruits from rural backgrounds often died in their first contact with endemic urban infections; but the survivors carried disease with them as a secret weapon in their contacts with populations on their borders. Disaster came only if armies—like Alexander's—were taken so far afield that they came into contact with an unknown large population unit established in equilibrium with another set of unfamiliar diseases.

In McNellie's thesis, then, the start of the Christian era saw a handful of separate civilizations in the ancient world in Rome, and the Middle East, India and China. Each had established city populations of a size large enough to sustain virus diseases, with some natural immunity to them. Each was surrounded by an agricultural hinterland providing it with food and with a constant supply of healthy young people to compensate for the high mortality of city life.

Each of these civilizations, in itself stable biologically, was kept within its frontiers by disease barriers: the Chinese could not even penetrate south from the Yellow River basin to the Yangtze because of their susceptibility to malaria and schistosomiasis. Yet while disease might prevent military expansion it did not stop individual emperors, and as early as 196 AD Roman merchants are said to have reached the regions of China under the control of the Han dynasty. It was not until the first century AD that the collapse of the Roman Empire as the isolated civilizations acquired each other's diseases. Ever-increasing maritime trade facilitated the spread of infection and the next thousand years saw repeated epidemics weaken and disintegrate society, with the awful climax of the depopulation of Europe by the Black Death between 1347 and 1350.

Even more dramatic, because the isolation had been so complete, was the impact of European disease upon the Americas. On the night when the Aztecs drove Cortez and his

Dr Tony Smith

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BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

Testing the market with a gilt-edged novelty

When someone offers you a novelty in the financial world, you can react in two ways. Either you take the offer, or you do not. The particular novelty before you would have done so only if they were certain, or as certain as they could be, that it was a real bargain. Or you instinctively recoil from the offer, on the assumption that there must be a trick to it somewhere.

It is, then, going to be fascinating to see just how the market responds this week to the Bank's application of the part-paid mechanism to its latest £800m gilt offer.

The case for taking the suspicious view is quite simply that—whether intended or not—the offer could turn out to be a trap. The basis for such a view is that the authorities, with the incomes policy battle at its height, will find themselves up against rather more difficult funding conditions in the late spring, and that they are merely laying a bait while the fish is in the mood to bite.

Naturally the authorities play down this argument. They prefer to see the exercise as one of restoring a degree of influence over long-term yields while minimising the squeeze on money supply—the new stock bringing in only £120m before the end of the present financial year. They would, moreover, presumably add that this aim is made all the more visible by the fact that they are actively trying to discourage overseas interests in the new stock.

But that in itself is unlikely to convince the sceptics. For the counter-argument must be that, in the right conditions (and the conditions on Thursday are anyone's guess at the moment), the offer will merely succeed in drawing back much of the speculative money that had recently been eased out of the market. And there is of course no reason why overseas buyers should not punt into the stock for short-term gain, though it is true that foreigners tend to treat novelties with suspicion, at least first time round.

The main question, however, for most institutions (apart from any problems individual funds may have in earmarking commitments for the next quarter at this stage) is the basic issue of whether now is the right time to be committing new money anyway.

Certainly, majority feeling is still that the medium-term prospects for gilts remain favourable. The IMF has control over monetary dealings, the PSBR is undershooting and inflation, after the spring hump, should be falling nicely. Interest rates too should have further to fall, though how far depends on one's view of the timing of an upturn in overseas rates, and whether one believes (see Greenwell's latest *Monetary Bulletin*) that unchanged monetary and foreign exchange policies can only lead us into deeper recession.

Over the short term, however, the course of the incomes policy debate must be taken as a potential source of anxiety for financial markets—regardless of the monetary restraints in which any policy will presumably have to work. The foreign exchange market is already talking of the possibility of a temporary reaction in sterling—which they argue that the authorities would not choose to prevent. And it is not difficult to see what might happen in sentiment if this is accompanied by poor trade figures or evidence that the exceptional factors recently depressing bank lending had



Mr David Darbishire, chairman of FMC: parties meet to talk it over.

ties must by law keep at least 75 per cent of their funds in liquid form, which in practice means at least 10 per cent.

Term deposits, as well as temporary money with the local authorities, may count towards that 75 per cent—provided the money is lent with a six month "stress" clause, under which the building societies may claim it back if they can plead necessity, once six months have expired.

In practice this stress clause is a dead letter, so that "liquid" as applied to such term investments means not so very liquid after all. But then "liquid" as applied to the 75 per cent statutory liquidity requirement is not so very liquid, either. Any society in need of those funds would automatically be in a state of stress and out of business.

Borthwick/FMC

Negotiating with the trust

Thomas Borthwick's plan to go over the head of the NFU Development Trust, to providing an equity promise. Pushed into a corner last week by the Trust when it snapped up another 5 per cent or so of FMC shares to take its holding up to nearly 45 per cent, Borthwick knows full well that the only way it can win is to reach some sort of agreement with the Trust. Which explains why the parties are meeting again this week to try to see if there is any common ground.

One question that needs to be answered is why the Trust didn't put everyone out of its misery last week by picking up the odd 2 to 3 per cent of FMC to give it full control. Under Panel rules, of course, it would have had to raise its bid to the highest price paid for shares during the period and that could have meant stamping up £1m plus, assuming it could have won through, at the market price of 114p. Its failure to do so, however, makes me wonder how far it can up the ante against Borthwick.

The NFU Trust began life in 1954 as the Farmstock Marketing Corporation and eight years later spun off its trading activities into the shape of the FMC. We know today, retaining a 35 per cent investment stake in FMC at the time.

The Trust is in practice a company limited by guarantee with clearly defined objectives: to promote the interests of farmers who produce livestock. Its only real source of income is the dividends on its FMC holding, and though until last year's cut in the dividend the return on the cost of its investment was reasonably good, most of its income in the past few years has been used to raise its FMC holding.

With no other sizable source of income, there obviously comes a day when FMC dividends of only 3.85p a share, producing a yield of only 3½ per cent at 114p, must be weighed against the 14-15 per cent cost of borrowed money. And even though its financial advisers reckon its borrowing facilities are adequate, it has already had to borrow to fund part of the 97p offer and may be unwilling or unable to go any further.

The market is taking that line, at any rate, but shareholders need be in no hurry to sell since Borthwick may yet be able to persuade the Trust with a higher offer.

We are starting a week that could force a general election and in due course produce a government of one party or another claiming that it had "a new mandate" to do X, Y and Z. It would be helpful if, in the economic and industrial field at least, commitments that whole aspects of the existing order would be subject to root and branch reform within the lifetime of the next Parliament could be kept to a reasonable minimum.

For the fact is that under the combined effects of inflation, continued deep recession, several years of voluntary and then involuntary controls on prices and pay, and after a year when the pound devalued almost daily, it is not easy to see how the public and the private sector need as much as possible of an unexciting regime, without unnecessary shocks or

disquieting changes, so that they may come through convalescence with a sense of confidence restored.

Our general system seems positively to delight in forcing through U-turns of policy. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the policies designed to deal with the intransigent problems of high unemployment in the traditional industrial areas.

For example, an area like Merseyside now has to come to terms with the latest job losses because of the closures at Plessey. Coming on top of other well-publicised cutbacks in the area, the Plessey problems are having a disproportionately large impact. Yet Merseyside, like other development areas, has just seen the Government cut without warning the regional employment premium, which was specifically designed to encourage employers of labour to establish themselves in such areas.

REP has had its critics as well as its

supporters. It lacks discrimination. It is a non-productive subsidy. Many of those involved consider that equivalent sums spent on, say, building advanced factories would have produced more jobs. But the withdrawal of the premium without warning must upset the cash flow projects of companies operating in development areas.

Worse, it can only undermine the credibility and therefore the effectiveness of all other inducements to invest in development areas. If REP can be cut off thus, so could anything else. The decision about a new investment in a development area is made on a time-scale longer than that in which most politicians operate.

At the very least the system should be made to operate so that major legislative and fiscal changes carry with them adjustment periods within which rational industrial and commercial adjustments can be made.

This is only one of the juddering U-turns of central policy about the

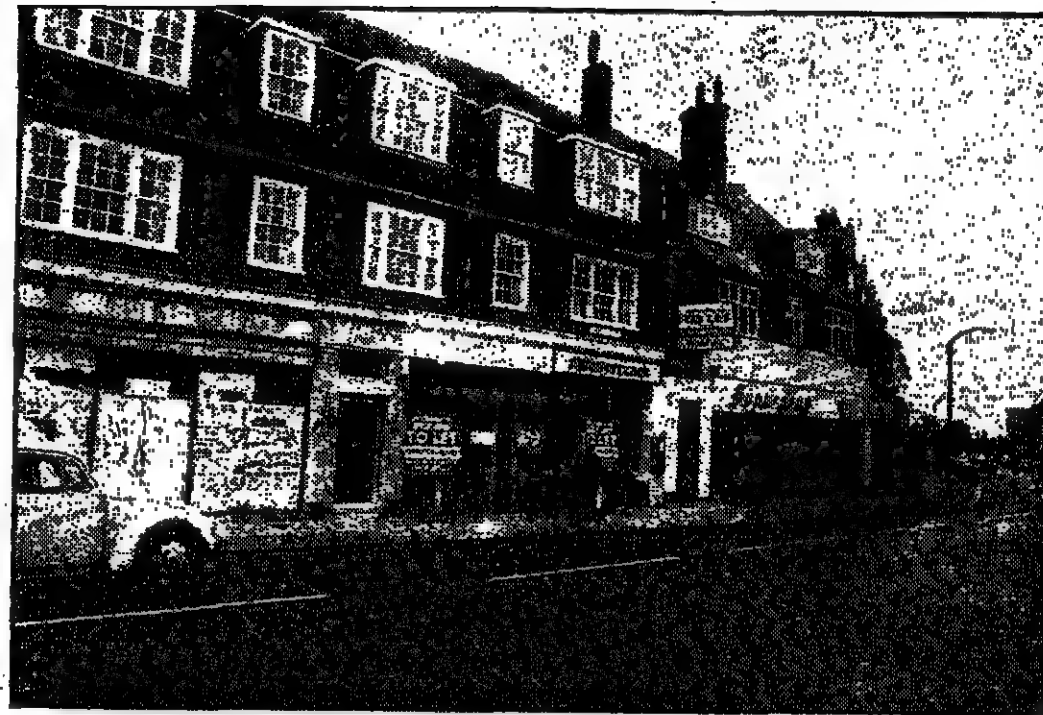
regions. There is the sudden switch in fashion from demolition and clearance to rehabilitation of our decaying city centres.

There is the sudden conclusion that—providing homes and jobs in new towns on greenfield sites may be less effective and more expensive than trying to create jobs where the unemployment already exists and the investment in the infrastructure is already in being.

There is the dawning realisation that areas with high vulnerability to cyclical unemployment in traditional manufacturing industry need more commercial and office jobs. In contrast traditional policy has tried to attract equally vulnerable manufacturing and capital-intensive investment to such areas.

But, if policy changes are to be made in these directions they should come in such a way that industry and commerce believe them to be permanent not temporary, and can respond accordingly.

Is the pace of modern life too hot for the small shopkeeper?



Boards shops where small businesses once thrived adjacent to newly arrived super-markets a sign of the time pictured here in a suburban high street near London.

of special merchandise it stocked, today the likelihood is that whether supermarket, multiple or corner shop, the basic range of goods will be practically identical.

The consolidation of manufacturers and suppliers has probably contributed almost as much to the demise of small shops as the greater buying power of their larger rivals. What has undoubtedly helped the trend along has been the growing swing to convenience foods.

With the spread of refrigerators, not only did daily shopping cease to be a necessity but came the introduction of quality frozen foods and even grandmothers forsook the habits of a lifetime, in pain of freedom from the kitchen. From there, it was only a short step to the greater acceptance of pre-packed goods; and with the multiples cashed in on volume orders: squabbling out many of the smaller manufacturers' suppliers and accelerating the merger, take over stampede.

With fewer buyers outside the small shop suddenly found itself competing directly with the giants and since, despite efforts towards collaborative purchasing, it could not obtain the same bulk order discounts, cost of stock came more expensive. A common moan among the independent grocers' fraternity is that they can purchase the staples more cheaply at the cash and carry than through their normal suppliers. And that, they swear darkly, has nothing to do with mere economies of scale!

On March 29 we shall see whether the save our cities campaign is for real—or just window dressing

Allegations of unfair trading are not confined to the grocery business. The Retail Fruit Trade Federation complains that their members are habitually short-changed on both quality and quantity and that until weight and grading regulations are imposed on growers/wholesalers, purchase of stock will remain a lottery, with the small grower/producer invariably getting a raw deal.

EEC intervention policies are another sore point, with the National Federation of Meat Traders bitterly maintaining that: "Membership of the EEC has resulted in the manipulation of the market in favour of the bigger boys". What particularly riles independent butchers are the concessions to large groups with the cold storage facilities to take meat off the market—enabling them to purchase on vastly more favourable terms.

A situation that Len Moss of the Federation vigorously denounces as "subsidized speculation".

Buying muscle apart, each group of small traders has its own special grievance. Tobacconists feel victimized, as in budgets after budget the cost of smoking is pushed higher. Newsagents claim "the little man hasn't time to read everything he sells and that (as in Italy) publishers—not retailers—should be liable for the contents of girls' magazines."

Flint fryers, butchers and greengrocers are all suffering from consumer resistance to (unavoidably) higher prices, while shoe-makers have been the victims of affluence: a well-to-do society that casually threw away its shoes. However, the trade association St. Crispian's joyfully reports, in recent months the trend has definitely been "back to the shoe-maker".

Chemists, arguably the best organized of the small traders, view the future with deepest foreboding. With every health centre that opens, an average of five chemists are forced to close: as a result of loss of dispensing and other NHS revenue, which accounts for 60 per cent of turnover. At present, there are 680 centres. The target is 4,000. If chemists continue to be annihilated, not only will the public lose a vital service but the pressure on doctors will greatly increase. In an attempt to stop the rot, the Pharmacists' Negotiating Committee is campaigning for a subsidy scheme and a system of planned distribution, to prevent new chemists from leap-frogging into prime sites and forcing the closure of existing shops.

While health centres and beef prices have nothing in common, this mass extermination of small chemists may euphemistically call it development. Ken Peters, of the National Federation of Retail Newsagents, puts it more graphically. "While a sea of towns are being wrecked down, leaving in their wake a trail of shops deprived of suitable premises and without the

means to compete against the multiples and trendy boutiques for the new plush sites in the high street."

When the crunch comes, some close down; others bravely strike up in a side street, once cut off from the mainstream, passing trade dwindles and turnover slumps.

It is not just the astronomical rents in the new shopping parades or the fact that there are never enough small units in a development to rehouse shop- less traders, often the rumour of compulsory purchase orders is sufficient to cause planning blight. Decaying inner cities can stem as much from fear of developers as the actual damage they wreak.

The economics of running a small grocer or chemist are now so hazardous that even a minor extra risk or trivial setback may tip the balance between solvency and bankruptcy. Over the past three years rates have rocketed in West. Draining shop- mender tails of a weekly increase in rent and rates from £26 to £70, an East London butcher of a rate increase of 300 per cent, cashflow has been squeezed and the effects of inflation on overheads and wages have become so costly that an average 9 per cent profit on tobacco or typical greengrocer's annual turnover of £28,000 looks daily more unrealistic. Add to this penal direct and business taxation, the self-employed national insurance contributions, the cost of borrowing and the new national insurance surcharge that comes into effect on April 6 and it is small wonder that so many small shops are quietly disappearing.

For the small trader, the prospect of capital transfer tax; for others, the hours of unproductive labour in completing their VAT returns or in dealing with the mounds of forms, questionnaires and regulations—not to mention the frequent visits from officials—which distract from the job of running a business. The Employment Protection Act, in almost every month, some small unit is driven into the small shopkeeper's coffin.

Already in some localities it is impossible to get your shoes repaired and the nearest chemist is five miles away. Not only is the public losing essential services but with each shop that shuts a few extra names swell the dole queue.

The inner city debate is welcome. But if the Government genuinely wants to restore jobs and bring back the life to our cities, action is needed to reduce the burden of rates, tax and bureaucracy that is driving shops—and many other small businesses—into the ground.

At the very least, the Chancellor's Budget speech should include: a cut in direct taxation, simplification of VAT together with relief against bad debts, incentives to plough back business profits, fairer national insurance contributions, a pledge to reform the vexed question of mixed hereditaments as they affect the rates, plus an easing up on the multiple regulations that are swamping small traders in a sea of paperwork.

On March 29, we shall see whether the "save our cities" campaign is for real—or just window dressing.

Rosemary Brown

Business Diary in Europe: Fiat's Libyan backers • TU reformer

The purchase last December of a 9.6 per cent share in Fiat, Italy's biggest company, by former colonial subjects has been followed by the nomination of two Libyans to the motor and engineering group's board. Their first attendance will probably be at a board meeting this month.

The two are both bankers in their forties. Regob A. Miselati, born in 1934 and a graduate of Benghazi University, is described by Fiat as president and director general of the Umma Bank, a founder of the Prima Commercial Bank, a deputy governor of the Central Bank, and also president and director general of the National Oil Corporation.

He is also one of the five-man Fiat executive committee, along with the Agnelli brothers Giovanni and Umberto, Gianluigi Gabetti and Cesare Romiti.

The other is Abdalla Saudi, 40 yesterday, chairman and general manager of the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, who was involved on the Libyan side in the confidential negotiations for the deal.

Giovanni Agnelli has said the Libyans will have no power of veto and there are no secret clauses in the agreement, while the Libyans have said their policies will be governed by business rather than political considerations.

They have already paid over the \$415m they promised to inject into Fiat, to the consequent benefit of the lira exchange rate in recent weeks. The sum is not far short of the

\$530m Italy is seeking from the International Monetary Fund.

Image builder

Frankfurt banking circles were surprised at the news last week that Walter Hesselbach is to resign his post as chief executive of the trade union owned Bank Für Gemeinwirtschaft this summer.

For Hesselbach, who is an energetic 62-year-old, has been on the BFG managing board since the bank's foundation in 1958 and took over the chairmanship three years later. Under his sway, the BFG has grown into one of Germany's bigger nationwide banks with a group balance sheet total of around DM40,000m.

Although Hesselbach is stepping down as BFG chief executive, he is not going into retirement. From this summer he is to run the trade union's commercial interests in banking, insurance, retailing and travel as chief executive of the union owned holding company Beteiligungsgesellschaft Für Gemeinwirtschaft.

The German trade union movement has an ambivalent attitude towards its not inconceivable commercial empire. Purists have argued that the movement should always be seen to be in the place of the boss, and not play at being one of the bosses. Perhaps because of this, the trade union owned companies have a rather undefined public image. Critics would go so far as to say they lack a sense of direction. If anyone can change this state of affairs it will be Walter

Hesselbach and it is probably a sign of his prestige that no single man could be found to take his place at the BFG.

Instead control will pass to two men in their forties. Dieter Hoffmann, aged 47, will be in charge of foreign business and the 44-year-old Thomas Wegscheider will assume responsibility for the bank's activities in West Germany.

Into the pits

The retirement of 79-year-old Enzo Ferrari as president of the company he founded more than 30 years ago ends an era—but it seems certain that flame-red Ferraris will continue to dazzle crowds on race tracks around the world.

Ferrari, who announced yesterday he was quitting because of age and ill health, is



Enzo Ferrari.

expected to maintain control over the activities of the racing team.

"But for racing nothing will change", chief engineer Mauro Forghieri said yesterday. "Indeed, Ferrari will now be in charge of foreign business and has always been the thing that interested him most."

With a new car at the testing stage, and due to make its debut in the Spanish Grand Prix, there is every reason to suppose that Ferrari's ambition is still to add to his tally of seven world championship titles.

Since 1969 the Ferrari company has been controlled by the great group, and the choice of Ferrari's new president rests with the Agnelli brothers at Fiat.

Food for thought

The recent death of Anthony Crosland, long after chairing an all-EEC ministerial meeting in Brussels has reinforced the resolve of his Cabinet colleague, John Silkin, to avoid a final grumbling marathon, to wind up this year's farm price review.

The British Minister of Agriculture, who will be in the EEC presidency chair when the price discussions resume at the end of this week, has waged a number of his friends and colleagues that the final bargaining session will end at dinner rather than breakfast time.

His aim is supported by Finn Olav Gundelach, the European Commissioner for Agriculture, who will almost certainly play a crucial role in working out a final compromise.

Silkin feels particularly strongly about the folly of working through the night, largely because of his experience as a Labour whip in Westminster when his party had a water-tight majority in the middle 1960s. He firmly believes that the strain of attending all-night sessions in Parliament during the 1964-66 Labour Government curbed the lives of a number of MPs on both sides of the House.

But notwithstanding Silkin's good intentions, seasoned followers of EEC farm price negotiations will be amazed if this year's exercise can be completed at a civilized hour.

King's tour

Hard-working King Juan Carlos of Spain arrived in Cairo this weekend on the first stop of a one-week Middle East trip to improve Spain's commercial and diplomatic relations with Arab countries.

Accompanied by Queen Sofia and by Marcelino Oreja, his foreign minister, the King is to confer with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat about trade deals. It was recently agreed that Egypt will manufacture automobiles under licence from the Spanish SEAT company.

He will also make modern history by being the first non-Islamic head of state to visit the Arab League headquarters in Cairo. On Wednesday he will travel to Jordan, for a three-day official visit at the invitation of his friend King Hussein.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Overseas visitors: an answer from the BTA

From Sir Alexander Glen
Mr. Nicholas Baker, in his recent article on overseas visitors to Britain, has put forward a number of points which the British Tourist Authority is glad to answer.
Over the past few years the number of overseas visitors to Britain has increased from 1.5 million in 1970 to 2.5 million in 1976. This is a significant increase, particularly in the context of the current economic situation. The BTA has been working hard to attract more overseas visitors to Britain, and we are pleased to see that our efforts are paying off. We will continue to work hard to attract more overseas visitors to Britain, and we are confident that we will be able to do so in the future.

about the cost to the community of different types of tourism. I suspect he is confusing the situation in Britain with that in other countries. In fact, the purposes for which visitors come to Britain are infinitely varied.
Nearly a quarter of the spending derives from conferences and seminars, and artistic, scientific and medical reasons, together with language study, provide some of a host of other reasons for visiting Britain.
What is disturbing in the letter from Mr. Baker, as a prospective parliamentary candidate, is his disinterest both in the balance of payments of Britain and also in the reduction of unemployment. An activity which contributed last year £2,000m to the sorely strained balance cannot be written off as lightly as Mr. Baker suggests. Nor can activity which provides over a million jobs predominantly—as has been explained—for British citizens.
Tourism, in short, has been one of the few growth industries in Britain. Like every human activity it has its disadvantages as its benefits, but the former do not include pollution or the scarring of landscape, while the benefits are very apparent in the support which tourism spending has given to the arts, and to cultural life in the country. Good theatre, music and the historic houses would be much the poorer without tourism's support and the preservation of a Menezes would be an idle dream.
Yours faithfully,
ALEXANDER GLEN,
Chairman, British Tourist Authority,
24 St. James's Street,
London SW1A 1NF.
March 17.

Ford UK cars and delivery dates

From Mr C. L. Irwin
Sir, It is ironic that Mr. Burgess's letter (March 16) concerning the cancellation of a Mini Clubman Estate and substitution by a Ford Escort 1300 should have appeared in today's issue.
In the late afternoon of January 31, at the showroom of Ford Personal Escort, London, I placed an order, and left a deposit on a 1300 Ford Escort to comply with specifications for a European country. Delivery date was given as March 28, 1977.
When I reached home, three hours later, a phone call had advised my wife, who did not know that I had ordered the vehicle, that the colour which I had chosen was not available. The following day a phone call advised her that delivery could not be expected until the end of the first week in April.
Yesterday afternoon, after 18 minutes on the phone, for which I had paid, and in answer to my request, I was advised that although delivery had been anticipated for April 11, it would almost certainly be several weeks thereafter before I could expect to take delivery of the car. I would be advised.
I am an ex-managing director of the distributor for the whole of the Ford line in Angola. I can state that the members of the Ford Motor Company, from Finn, to Swiss, French and Portuguese, who were sent out by Ford of Europe to assist me were outstanding in their cooperation and in the fact that they worked, and worked hard, to the end, and I will have to go to Ford Germany?
Yours faithfully,
CHARLES L. IRWIN,
Wainbourne,
Nettlebed,
Henley-on-Thames,
Oxfordshire RG9 5AE.
March 16.

Providing an 'umbrella' for the construction industry

From Mr D. M. Walker
Sir, May I have the opportunity of commenting on Mr. Moxley's letter (March 14) "Construction: a need to speak out".
My association indicated, at the end of last year, a move to form an "umbrella" organisation, in particular, the professions in the construction industry, and there is no reason, in my view, why the proposal that your correspondent is putting forward should not be included in the activities of such a body. I agree with Mr. Moxley in that there is a great need for our industry to combine its efforts. Whereas "power

through strength" is not a new concept it is one which is being used increasingly today.
It is also very pertinent to note that if the 300,000 employed in the industry could be put back to work by a reduction of our activities, the total United Kingdom unemployment figure could be reduced by 20 per cent—at a stroke.
Yours faithfully,
D. M. WALKER,
Immediate Past-President,
The Incorporated Association of Architects and Surveyors,
24 Half Moon Street,
London W1,
March 17.

Maritime flag of the Seychelles

From the President of the Republic of Seychelles
Sir, The article by Peter Hill, "Showing the flag at the Seychelles conference" (March 15) in no way reflects the intentions of my government to set up the Seychelles maritime flag. The contents of the article completely misconstrues the facts and condemns the flag before it even has had time to establish itself.
I would therefore wish to advise your readers that my government's object is to establish the Seychelles as a maritime flag and in time to gain the confidence and respectability that is attributed to the maritime nations.

The Government is only too aware of the needs that have been tagged to some of the nations mentioned in the article and have every intention to take a firm hand in all matters concerning the safety of the ships and the crews that man them.
Make no mistake, my Government has no intention of allowing any company or person to damage the reputation of our flag as, like the United Kingdom, we are an island, dependent entirely on the sea for our existence.
Yours faithfully,
JAMES R. MANCHEM,
The Savoy, London.
March 17.

Call for inflation-indexed taxation

By David Blake
Economics Correspondent
Britain's personal tax system ought to be indexed for inflation, a study from the Institute of Economic Affairs declares today.
The study, written by Mr. David Morgan, an economist at the International Monetary Fund, argues that a failure to adjust tax allowances to take account of rising prices was a major factor in the doubling of total personal taxes between 1973-74 and 1975-76.
He argues that the system provides Government with a rapidly increasing source of revenue, making it easier to increase public spending without looking at the tax implications.
The effect of inflation has been to increase tax rates heavily without forcing politicians into the open with formal proposals for higher-rate taxes.

The author shows conclusively that while the great majority of the population suffers some increase in taxation when inflation pushes up money income, the impact in percentage terms is greatest within any tax band for those who are worst off.
In particular, for the great majority of the population who pay tax at the standard rate of 35 per cent, the worst effect is on those whose pay is small and whose families are large.
This is because tax allowances are most important for them, so they suffer most from an erosion of the allowances' real value. The scale of the drop in the real value of these allowances is calculated as nearly a third in some cases.
A single person's allowance stood at £395 in April, 1973, compared with £398 now, after allowing for inflation.
For those who pay tax at the higher rates there has also been a substantial drop in the level

at which they move into a higher tax bracket. Higher-rate tax started at £5,000 in April, 1973, whereas it today starts at £2,711 in 1973 terms. The gap in real terms between each step is now about 50 per cent of what it was in 1973.
The author claims that having an increasing source of income taxes, whose share of total tax revenue rose from 42.6 per cent in 1964 to 52.1 per cent in 1975, has been a major factor explaining government profligacy. He cites past examples of increasing government spending and also argues that the public-sector deficit has been in continual growth since 1972-73.
Most of this section was clearly written before the December series of cuts and latest estimates, which suggest that the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement will fall sharply in 1976-77 and even faster next year.

Interim Price Commission report on beer considered

By Ronald Emiler
There is a possibility that the Price Commission will publish an interim report on beer, which the subject is providing with its most complex investigation yet undertaken, because of the nature of the industry, the size and areas covered by brewers, the complex system of tied houses and differing pricing structures.
The Commission is finding that while information on which to base a "national" review is relatively easily obtained, it is proving difficult to "sample" the regional producers, each of whom operates a fairly closely chosen and differing areas.

Consequently, the possibility of an interim report on the production distribution costs of large companies is being considered as an interim measure.
Mr. Hattersley, Secretary of State for Prices and Consumer Protection, has already the Commission's report on soft drink "Mixers" on his desk and publication is expected some time before Easter.
While this is expected to be highly critical of the licensed trade, the Department of Price may try to present that report on a fairly low key in order to direct public attention to what is regarded as the much more crucial investigation into beer prices.

No rush to join NEB's Insac Data

By Kenneth Owen
Technology Correspondent
Several negotiations with companies in the computer industry for membership of the National Enterprise Board's Insac Data Systems offshoot are "well down the line", according to Mr. John Pearce, deputy director of the NEB's computers and electronics division.
Interviewed in the current issue of Computing magazine, Mr. Pearce says: "If Insac gets the membership I anticipate it will represent companies whose combined sales are already £40m to £50m."

The new NEB subsidiary, he said, would provide overseas marketing operations for member companies, and would also invest in members' hardware and software development programmes.
Formation of the Insac company was announced by the NEB last month, since when Computer Analysts & Programmers, a leading London software house, has been the only company to announce negotiations for membership.

FINANCIAL NEWS AND MARKET REPORTS

Tesco moves have paved way for stronger advance in the 1980s

While much retail stores analysis is centred on margins and consumer spending levels, J. & A. Scrimgeour has concentrated its research on property portfolios in forecasting a rating of Tesco Stores (Holdings).
Tesco, the firm states, entered the current decade with a property portfolio heavily weighted with first and second generation supermarkets. Drawing on American sources, the broker states that the long-term vulnerability of such units is high, but having substantially expanded and re-positioned its stores, Tesco will enter the 1980s in a stronger competitive position than it entered the 1970s.
In the year ended February, 1977, the group should make almost £3m, the firm believes, going up to about £3.5m in the current year. The prospective earnings multiple of 8.7 compares with the food retailing multiple of 10.6, and Scrimgeour recommends that weightings in this "core sector" holding should be progressively increased.
If Tesco, to borrow the brokers phrase, has been subjected to a "continued process of downward rating", De La Rue has been put through the hoops. Even today, the latest review by Phillips & Drew still refers to the missed forecasts

made in the course of repelling the Rank Organisation bid no less than eight years ago.
De La Rue's acquisitions, the broker admits, seemed irrelevant to what the group knew best (shades of later institutional objection to Rank itself), but although the dominant security principle of business phase, after a year of exceptional growth, Foomica—such a headache in France and Germany last year—should be substantially reduced losses in the next two years while United Kingdom trading prospects have improved with the introduction of new products.
Phillips & Drew's analyst, Mr. John Marsh, calculates that group earnings will almost double in the current year, giving a 20 per cent discount to average market price/earnings ratios.
If De La Rue and Tesco have had the share of criticism over the years, EMI has been a blue-chip favourite. Give the market a glamour product—in this instance medical scanners—and there is inevitably a rush for the shares. The latest results, however, contained a warning on future growth rates, heavy spending requirements and harsh regulatory controls.
Despite the subsequent disappointment, both Rowe Rudd and Quilter Hilton Goodwin have chosen to pick up the pieces.

Rowe's commentators, Mr. Gerald Kelly, Mr. John Carter and Mr. Sean Roche, are worried by the technical position of the shares and estimate that they would fall sharply if the index dipped below 400.
But after the interim figures and the Development Securities bid (effectively a rights issue), the broker is confident that new products announcements could restore EMI's growth rating. The CT scanning, ultrasound and linear accelerators are three important areas.
The shares, say Rowe's trio, would be an "excellent buy" under 200p.
Quilter's analyst, Mr. Field Walton, is less sanguine. The results, he says, were not up to expectations and the stock no longer warrants an above-average rating, although the Development Securities deal could ease the firm's income grounds. A final dividend of 8.75p has been forecast.
Income comes bottom of Fielding, Newson-Smith's priorities for recommendation in Imperial Continental Gas Association. Earnings, says Mr. D. A. Richards, will grow by a third this year due to the pay off on the investment in Calor, Petrofina's benefits from the North Sea and the improvement from the Belgian subsidiaries.
Ray Maughan

A P Cement, Bowring, Philips, Ladbroke due

One Dutch-based multinational and a string of major British industrials is the measure of the coming week's line-up of routine company news, which is strongly biased to end-year statements.
Philips Lamp reports on Thursday along with Smith & Nephew, complemented by interim figures from C. T. Bowring and the Sime Darby complex. But these will be preceded by Rolls-Royce Motors, Associated Portland Cement, and Ladbroke—all final.
A heavy hit for Wednesday takes in BICC, Booker McConnell, General Accidents, Istock-Johnson, and Rockware. There is always wide interest in Beaverbrook Newspapers: their interim is now expected on Friday. For the rest, two carpet makers are reporting—Blackwood Morton and Youghal Dettale.
TODAY: Interim—Chambers and Argus, Courtyard Pops, Epicure, Hides, R. Green, Props, Lawter, and Miln Masters. Final—Beaton Clark, Jameson Chocolates, Low and Bonar, Parsling Rubber, and Kolls-Royce Motors.
TOMORROW: Interim—Malayan Tin, Ricardo Eng, and Southern Malaysia Tin. Final—Assoc Portland Cement, Boddingtons Breweries, Bpax, Eng, Bury and Masco, Home Counties Newspapers, John I. Jacobs, Ladbroke, Shorus

Ware, Tomatin Distillers and Warnoughs.
WEDNESDAY: Interim—A. Beckman, Maynards, Utd City Merchants, and Jas Walker Goldsmith and Silversmith. Final—Barro Cons Inds, BICC, Booker McConnell, A/B Electrolux, General Accidents, Glenlivet Distilleries, J. Hewitt, and Istock-Johnson. A. A. Jones and Shipman, P. J. C. Lilley, Liverpool Post, Rockware, Sam Sherman, TPT Ltd, and Youghal Carpaes.
Results this week
THURSDAY: Interim—Barton and Sons, Blackwood Morton, C. T. Bowring, Cons Plantations, Countryside Props, Galenkamp, G. F. Lovell, Prosser, W. Ribbons, Sime Darby Hides, and F. W. Thorpe. Final—British Mohair Spinners, Friedland Dorgart, Manchester Liners, Philips Lamp, Smith and Nephew, Tharps Sulphur and Copper, Wilkinson Warburton Wolf Electric Tools, and Yule Catro.
FRIDAY: Interim—Beaverbrook Newspapers. Final—Brown, Brothers, Gibbs and Dandy, Reiyon (PWS), Southey, Tow, Packet, and Utd Newspapers.

Shellabear gets £1.35m offer—if all goes well

When shareholders in a group which coyly reveals an anonymous suitor have to wait weeks for details they are some time away from the water.
But in the case of Shellabear and SG Warburg think the offer is fair and certain directors and their families will back it for 53 per cent of the capital. County Bank advises Bwiler.
There could be a snag. Shellabear claims that it made small profits last year, but Bwiler has instructed accountants to verify the management accounts of Shellabear for 1976, and to confirm no material change for the worse since then. It also wants to be satisfied about the worth of Shellabear's property and plant. Only if all goes well will Bwiler spend its money.

were around 90 per cent of turnover.
In 1975 Bwiler won the "Queen's Award for Industry for Export".
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Sir John Prideaux on need for realism in bank accounting

By Adrienne Gleeson
Likening the problems for the banks in maintaining their capital ratios at a time of high inflation to "that which arises in the accounts of industrial undertakings needing additional working capital to cover inflationary increases in the cost of replacing stocks", National Westminster's retiring chairman, Sir John Prideaux, points out in his annual report that without adjustment for this erosion of free capital ratios, to determine current cost profits of banks "will not be meaningful".
Last year as the accounts show, National Westminster's deposits rose by 16 per cent to £15,384m (with International

Westminster Bank's deposits accounting for something over £4,200m of that), while shareholders' funds rose by less than 9 per cent.
The rise in shareholders' funds was, however, depressed by the property reassessment which wiped £50m off the value of certain central London premises and offset most of the benefits, in terms of strengthening the balance sheet, which the group obtained from last year's £64m rights issue.
Sir John says that the bank's property assessments now show that there is "no significant difference between the overall book and market values of the group's properties".
The new tower building in Bishopsgate, which was topped

out last week and which is, when completed, to hold the international division, is included in fixed assets (up from £550m to £554m during the year) as one of the major sites in course of revaluation.
These are taken in, at cost, at £79m at end-December, as against £51m at the end of the preceding year. Commitments for future expenditure at the year-end amounted to £183m as against £196m a year previously.
He also says that while the resources of Courts & Co continued to grow satisfactorily, published profits have been held back by the need for further provisions against

Westinghouse in Italian talks

Westinghouse Electric Corporation says that it has been in talks with the Italian Government to discuss reducing its equity in two majority owned Italian nuclear supply units.
The group added that in response to "desires expressed by the Italian Government" it has held preliminary discussions about reducing its more than 50 per cent equity interest in Sopel, an Italian-based supplier of nuclear reactor components, and Coren, an Italian-based nuclear fuel company.
Westinghouse pointed out that there have not yet been formal discussions about the sale of the equity interest. No agreement had been reached.
AP-Dow Jones.

At the pricing price of £99 the flat yield on the £3m issue is 13.34 per cent, and the redemption yield £13.46 per cent. The strength of the gilt-edged market since the issue was placed on Wednesday suggests that the stock will go to a small premium.
The chairman of the old New York banking house of J. P. Morgan is looking for a "more robust" United States economy this year. Forecasting a

moderate improvement in earnings of the bank for the March quarter, Mr. William Patterson said that interest rates should move upward a few notches as loan demand builds.
The company's chief subsidiary is Morgan Guaranty Trust.
AP-Dow Jones.

Guinness presses on: Mr. Beney adamant
The offer from Arthur Guinness for White, Child & Beney of 65p cash or 70p in shares is due to close on Friday.
The brewer emphasises that its offer for White, Child, in which it already has more than 52 per cent, will not be extended or increased in any circumstances.
Mr. Richard Beney, WCB's chairman, recently pledged that "Guinness will never get full control at the existing cash offer price of 65p".
The WCB board has been told by Guinness that between January 24 and March 11, Guinness bought 861,014 shares (11.6 per cent).

semi-annual interest at 3 per cent plus above the six-month London interbank rate, subject to an expected minimum of 5 1/2 per cent.
TACE
At annual meeting, Mr. J. H. M. Mackenzie said that litigation between co-asset Royal Dutch Shell sub, BHTON, over claims and counter claims about Dutch cow bought from BHTON continues. Group's trading encouraging.
CIBL
Citicorp International Bank (CIBL), part of Citicorp International, reported 1976 pre-tax profit £5.7m (£5.62m). Group kept to place last year in syndication of international loans, and did more in Eurocurrency.
ENGLISH PROPERTY CORP
In exchange for the minority shareholdings in two subsidiaries, English Property Corp has issued to Mr. C. B. Leigh, a former director, 450,000 ordinary shares, plus £100,000 cash.
STAFFS POTTERIES
Staffordshire Pottery (Holdings) has been told by Hill, England, that it has disposed of 450,000 ordinary shares in Staffordshire and now holds none.

Mid-Sussex deserves a small premium

Dealing are due to start on Wednesday in the new £50-paid Mid-Sussex Water Company 15 1/2 per cent Redeemable Debenture placed by broker, Dennis Murphy, Campbell last week.

J. P. Morgan

The chairman of the old New York banking house of J. P. Morgan is looking for a "more robust" United States economy this year. Forecasting a

Freight report

Tanker rates for large vessels trading in the Gulf continued their upward path during the first half of last week.
But as the weekend approached the amount of new inquiry and actual business being concluded fell away noticeably, probably because companies seeking tonnage for March loadings have now satisfied their requirements and the pressure to take up first-quarter quotas are off.
If this is the case, the lull in trading may last into early April and probably longer. Rate levels could also slip back a little.
Demand from both major and independent oil companies was sufficient in the charters arranged at the beginning of last week to push rates up to an average Worldwide 31, four points above the previous week. This achievement was put down to the near-balance existing between demand and supply.
Conditions also improved for smaller tankers in the 130,000/140,000-ton deadweight range, where a narrow balance between supply and demand was also being reported. As a result, rates firmed up to around Worldwide 42.
While volume of Mediterranean fixing remained about the same, chartering started showing signs of recovery, particularly towards the end of the week. Surplus tonnage has tended to keep rates low, largely, but there were signs of an increase in trading.
In the dry cargo market the hopes of China coming into this sector for tonnage to serve its recent grain purchase deal with Australia were dashed, temporarily at least. They are holding off making any moves until they have undertaken an assessment of their own position.

Business appointments
Lord Caldecote to head Legal and General

Viscount Caldecote, deputy chairman of the Legal and General Assurance Society, is to succeed Viscount Brown as chairman when the latter retires at the annual general meeting on May 18. Lord Caldecote joined the Legal and General board in February last year and was appointed deputy chairman in January. He is also chairman of Delta Metal Co and a director of Lloyds Bank and Consolidated Gold Fields.
Mr. Alastair Robertson, secretary and deputy general manager of the Scottish Equitable Life Assurance Society, has been appointed a director of the society with immediate effect. On September 1 he will become general manager in succession to Mr. Ian Isles, who retires on August 31. Mr. Isles will remain a director.
Mr. Charles Green has been appointed director, field engineering, Europe, of NCR.
Mr. N. F. Nicholson has been made financial director, EMI Leisure Enterprises. Mrs. Mary Jeffery becomes finance director, EMI Hotels and Restaurants Operations, and Mr. D. R. Davies, managing director, EMI Sound and Vision Equipment.
Mr. David Morton, managing director of Alcan Booth Industries and assistant managing director of Alcan Aluminium (UK), has been made vice-president, corporate planning for Alcan Aluminium, Montreal.
Mr. W. J. Wilkes has been made chairman of James Wilkes in succession to Mr. Wilkes, who retires on March 31.
Mr. A. J. Love, of Lankro Chemicals, has been elected chairman of the recently-formed Phoenix Foams Manufacturers' Association.
Mr. John Briggs has been made managing director of Townsend Car Ferries. Mr. John Parsons has been appointed deputy managing director of Townsend Car Ferries.
Mr. F. Ross has been named chairman of AMEY Life Assurance in succession to Mr. J. P. Bol. Mr. Ross is a director of J. F. van der Does de Willebois has joined the board.
Mr. C. A. Bienenberg has joined the board of Resource Evaluation as an executive director. He was

previously managing director of Robert Fraser & Partners. Mr. M. J. Boniface becomes deputy managing director and Mr. C. H. Cumner company secretary. Mr. R. Brown has been appointed a non-executive director.
Mr. H. D. Elverum has been made vice-president of a new component group in Honeywell Inc control systems operations. He is succeeded as president and general manager of Honeywell Europe by Mr. Joe Chenoweth.
Mr. T. Holborn is to become managing director of Tobler Scharf from April 1. Mr. R. Begle (Swiss) and Mr. G. E. Raymond (French) also join the board. Mr. J. E. Manghardt (Swiss) has resigned.
Mr. A. S. R. Davidson, has been appointed a joint general manager of Bank of Scotland in succession to Mr. D. M. Cowan, who retires on May 15.
Mr. G. J. R. Rainey will resign his directorship of Delta Enfield Cables (Holdings) and its subsidiaries on April 7, when he transfers to Delta Metal as financial controller. Mr. R. H. Ludwick, Mr. A. Morgan and Mr. T. R. Neal will join the board of Delta Enfield Cables (Holdings). Mr. H. A. Lee is named a director of Delta Enfield Cables. Mr. James Sweeney has been named a director of E. F. Hutton (London).
Mr. James Pridley has joined the board of English and International Trust.

More financial news, page 24

Aquis Securities Limited
PROPERTY INVESTMENT & DEVELOPMENT

Extracts from the Accounts and the Review of the year ended 31st December 1976 by the Chairman, Mr. Harold Quinlan.
(With comparative figures for the year to 31st December 1975).
* Net profit before tax £234,920 (1975: 255,601)
* After taxation £159,557 (1975: £152,348)
* Proposed Final Dividend of 0.375 pence per share making a total of 0.6 pence per share for the year, (1975 total: 0.576413 pence)
* Group retained profits carried forward £195,986 (1975: £241,897)
* As to the future, the outlook for your Group in 1977 is bright, and there seems no doubt that our profits will continue to grow.
Annual General Meeting will take place at noon on Friday, 15th April 1977 at the Clarendon Court Hotel, Maide Vale, London W9 1AG.

A. J. BEKHOR & Co. Ltd.
CORPORATE MEMBER OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE

announce that they have obtained consent to become option dealers and will commence trading on 22nd March 1977.

TAISHO MARINE AND FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED

DEPOSITARY RECEIPTS TO BEARER
Notice of the 10th Annual Meeting of the Shareholders of the Taisho Marine and Fire Insurance Company, Limited, to be held at 11, Bishopsgate, London EC2A 4DP, on Tuesday, 18th March, 1977, at 11.00 a.m. The agenda will appear on page 30 of The Times of 18th March, 1977.

The new NEB subsidiary, he said, would provide overseas marketing operations for member companies, and would also invest in members' hardware and software development programmes.

Formation of the Insac company was announced by the NEB last month, since when Computer Analysts & Programmers, a leading London software house, has been the only company to announce negotiations for membership.

David Robinson

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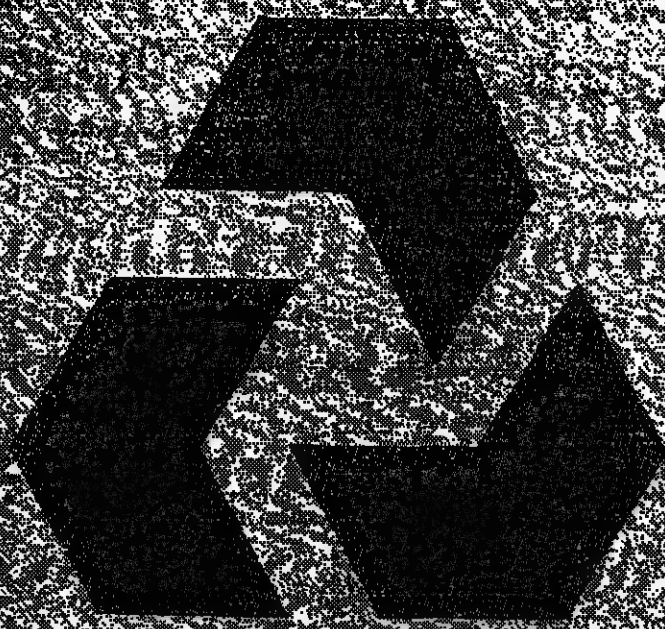
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2. **WHO'S WHO IN TRANSLATING**, 1977.
3. **CZECHOSLOVAK TRADE DIRECTORY**, 1977, 1,000 pages.
4. **BRAZIL TODAY'S BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES**, 1977, 1,000 pages.
5. **NIGERIA—Report on Markets in Nigeria 1976**, £35.00, plus £2.00 Air Mail.
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NatWest 1976

From the Statement by the Chairman
Sir John Prideaux OBE



The recovery in the Group profit has reversed the trend of the last two years and is especially important at a time of high inflation – the retention of adequate profits remains essential in building our capital base to keep it in line with the Group's needs.



We have substantial commitments by way of medium-term support for industry in addition to providing short-term working capital – and we have expanded our financing of the North Sea oil and gas industry taking the lead in several major loans.



Overall, our international business continues to show strong growth in both assets and profits and we are proud to be among the nation's leading invisible exporters.



The responsibility for recreating the climate necessary to encourage industry to invest for re-equipment and modernisation rests with the Government itself: given the appropriate climate, 1977 could set the stage for a dramatic and sustained recovery in the UK economic fortunes in which we are ready to play a full part.

Figures taken from the Group Accounts 1976

Ordinary share capital.....	£222 million
Reserves	£697 million
Current, deposit and other accounts.....	£15,384 million
Advances	£10,615 million
Group profit after allocation to staff profit-sharing	£188 million
Tax	£100 million
Retained profit	£63 million

National Westminster Bank Group

FINANCIAL NEWS AND MARKET REPORTS

Euromarkets

Most sectors of the Euromarket were buoyant over the past week as investors reacted favourably to a combination of good news on oil, more generous terms and stable short-term interest rates for most currencies, reports AP—Jon Jones.

About the only questionable area in the Swiss franc sector, where the World Bank was emboldened by a 50 per cent cut in the size of its proposed 200m franc issue (about \$45m).

Gold bonds came into demand on expectations of a Dutch discount rate cut, new Deutsche mark bonds sold well in a generally good market. Canadian dollar bonds improved on a belief that the recent decline of the Canadian dollar on the foreign exchange market had about run its course and, in the United States, dollar-denominated secur. prices rose steadily and generally held their gains as the week ended.

Particularly in the dollar sector, underwriters were enthusiastic about investor response to new issues on offer. As expected, with signs of confidence returning, the calendar of new issues expanded, but by Friday there were no signs of indigestion developing.

Eurobond prices (yields and premiums)

Issue	Yield	Premium
Algeria 1978	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1979	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1980	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1981	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1982	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1983	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1984	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1985	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1986	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1987	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1988	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1989	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1990	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1991	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1992	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1993	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1994	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1995	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1996	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1997	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1998	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1999	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2000	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2001	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2002	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2003	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2004	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2005	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2006	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2007	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2008	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2009	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2010	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2011	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2012	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2013	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2014	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2015	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2016	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2017	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2018	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2019	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2020	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2021	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2022	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2023	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2024	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2025	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2026	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2027	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2028	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2029	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2030	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2031	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2032	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2033	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2034	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2035	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2036	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2037	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2038	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2039	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2040	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2041	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2042	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2043	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2044	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2045	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2046	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2047	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2048	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2049	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2050	10.50	0.00

Weekly list of fixed interest stocks

Issue	Yield	Premium
Algeria 1978	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1979	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1980	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1981	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1982	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1983	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1984	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1985	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1986	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1987	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1988	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1989	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1990	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1991	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1992	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1993	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1994	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1995	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1996	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1997	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1998	10.50	0.00
Algeria 1999	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2000	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2001	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2002	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2003	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2004	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2005	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2006	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2007	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2008	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2009	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2010	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2011	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2012	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2013	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2014	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2015	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2016	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2017	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2018	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2019	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2020	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2021	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2022	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2023	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2024	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2025	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2026	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2027	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2028	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2029	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2030	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2031	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2032	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2033	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2034	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2035	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2036	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2037	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2038	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2039	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2040	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2041	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2042	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2043	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2044	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2045	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2046	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2047	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2048	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2049	10.50	0.00
Algeria 2050	10.50	0.00

Bank Base Rates

Barclays Bank	10.1%
Consolidated Credits	11.1%
First London Sec	11.1%
C. Moore & Co.	10.1%
Lloyds Bank	10.1%
Midland Bank	10.1%
Nat Westminster	10.1%
Rossminster Acc's	11.1%
Shenley Trust	14.1%
Williams & Glyn's	10.1%

M. J. H. NIGHTINGALE & CO. LIMITED
62-63 Threadneedle Street, London EC2R 8PH. Tel: 01-638 8651

Commodity	Contract	Yield	Premium
1.750	Algeria 1978	10.50	0.00
2.3	Algeria 1979	10.50	0.00
700	Algeria 1980	10.50	0.00
1.750	Algeria 1981	10.50	0.00
2.3	Algeria 1982	10.50	0.00
4.150	Algeria 1983	10.50	0.00
11.750	Algeria 1984	10.50	0.00
2.377	Algeria 1985	10.50	0.00
2.972	Algeria 1986	10.50	0.00
1.610	Algeria 1987	10.50	0.00
2.394	Algeria 1988	10.50	0.00
4.674	Algeria 1989	10.50	0.00

Political risks force private capital to shun Third World development

Since 14 European mining companies (including the four United Kingdom mining finance houses) made a submission to the EEC Commission last year on the question of political risk guarantees for investments in Third World countries, the matter has been shelved or is even dead, but in the latter case of bureaucratic bodies, discussion on the contents and suggestions of the document continues ad nauseam.

Since no action would involve the agreement of various governments it is hardly surprising there is much discussion (the document itself was not drawn up without considerable debate among the signatories) for the time being.

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Mining

In 1972 Unctad reported that expansion plans of the iron ore industry in the non-communist world between 1969 and 1975 involved an additional capacity of over 130 million tons. Of this 86 per cent was to be found (in descending order) in Australia, Brazil and Canada.

The question arises, therefore, as to whether recent corporate decisions about future mineral supplies taken by and for Western European interests aggregate into an acceptable degree of geographical diversity. If not, then a conflict will arise between the desire for a geographical diversity of mineral supplies for security reasons, and the equally strong preference for secure investments in a manner of weighing alternative risks.

It could demand deliberate political resolution at an EEC or even wider international level.

The problem is that it is difficult enough to get a reasonable consensus at national level before one thinks of trying to get the EEC or even a wider grouping to agree. Mr. Manners, for example, charged that "insufficient attention is being given, at least in the public arena, to a cluster of non-fuel mineral problems that urgently demand some form of government response at both the national and EEC level."

From the United Kingdom and European standpoint, little has apparently been done. Mr. Manners pointed out that the United States has a National Commission on Materials Policy, while the Canadian government had published *Towards a Mineral Policy for Canada*.

In another context, the Australians set up the Fox Commission which, in its full findings are published will at least provide a major reference point as far as uranium is concerned.

Britain is in need of a minerals policy for it has less reserves of non-fuel minerals than the EEC as a whole. Britain has only small reserves of iron ore and even smaller reserves of tin, as Mr. Manners put it.

However, while the government has recognised the importance of uranium wherever it may come from, it is not exactly doing all it could to help the uranium mining industry. For example, it has decreed that investment grants for the mining industry are not eligible after the end of this month, with the result that the British uranium industry has been racing against the clock to complete their capital expenditure programmes.

When I visited Consolidated Gold Fields

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